



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Armenians secluded in the basement of an apartment building in Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh, a region within Azerbaijan.

HOW AGENDAS FILL
LOCAL NEWS VOID

Clients Pay for Favorable
Political Coverage

By DAVEY ALBA
and JACK NICAS

The instructions were clear: Write an article calling out Sara Gideon, a Democrat running for a hotly contested U.S. Senate seat in Maine, as a hypocrite.

Angela Underwood, a freelance reporter in upstate New York, took the \$22 assignment over email. She contacted the spokesman for Senator Susan Collins, the Republican opponent, and wrote an article on his accusations that Ms. Gideon was two-faced for criticizing shadowy political groups and then accepting their help.

The short article was published on Maine Business Daily, a seemingly run-of-the-mill news website, under the headline “Sen. Collins camp says House Speaker Gideon’s actions are hypocritical.” It extensively quoted Ms. Collins’s spokesman but had no comment from Ms. Gideon’s campaign.

Then Ms. Underwood received another email: The “client” who had ordered up the article, her editor said, wanted it to add more detail.

The client, according to emails and the editing history reviewed by The New York Times, was a Republican operative.

Maine Business Daily is part of a fast-growing network of nearly 1,300 websites that aim to fill a void left by vanishing local newspapers across the country. Yet the network, now in all 50 states, is built not on traditional journalism but on propaganda ordered up by dozens of conservative think tanks, political operatives, corporate executives and public-relations professionals, a Times investigation found.

The sites appear as ordinary local-news outlets, with names like Des Moines Sun, Ann Arbor Times and Empire State Today. They employ simple layouts and articles about local politics, community happenings and sometimes national issues, much like any local newspaper.

But behind the scenes, many of the stories are directed by political groups and corporate P.R. firms to promote a Republican candidate or a company, or to smear their rivals.

The network is largely overseen by Brian Timpone, a TV re-

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Trump Stays Upbeat, but Campaign Turns Grim

By MAGGIE HABERMAN
and ALEXANDER BURNS

In public, President Trump and his campaign team project a sense of optimism and bravado. When they meet with Republican donors and state party leaders, presidential aides insist they are fully capable of achieving a close victory over Joseph R. Biden Jr. on Nov. 3.

On television and in campaign appearances, Mr. Trump and his children dismiss public polls that suggest that his prospects are bleak. The president’s calendar of events is packed through Election Day, with aides predicting a thrice-a-day rally schedule in the final weeks of the race. When Mr. Trump contemplates the prospect

Sobering View Spreads
Among Strategists
as Election Nears

of defeat, he does so in a tone of denial and disbelief: “Could you imagine if I lose?” he asked a crowd Friday.

In private, most members of Mr. Trump’s team acknowledge that is not a far-fetched possibility.

Away from their candidate and the television cameras, some of Mr. Trump’s aides are quietly conceding just how dire his political predicament appears to be, and his inner circle has returned to a

state of recriminations and backbiting. Mark Meadows, the White House chief of staff, is drawing furious blame from the president and some political advisers for his handling of Mr. Trump’s recent hospitalization, and he is seen as unlikely to hold onto his job past Election Day.

Mr. Trump’s campaign manager, Bill Stepien, has maintained to senior Republicans that the president has a path forward in the race but at times has conceded it is narrow.

Some midlevel aides on the campaign have even begun inquiring about employment on Capitol Hill after the election, apparently under the assumption that there will not be a second

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They Spurned
Clinton in 2016,
But Like Biden

By LISA LERER
and REID J. EPSTEIN

Samantha Kacmarik, a Latina college student in Las Vegas, said that four years ago, she had viewed Hillary Clinton as part of a corrupt political establishment.

Flowers Forever, a Black transgender music producer in Milwaukee, said she had thought Mrs. Clinton wouldn’t change anything for the better.

And Thomas Moline, a white retired garbageman in Minneapolis, said he simply hadn’t trusted her.

None of them voted for Mrs. Clinton. All of them plan to vote for Joseph R. Biden Jr.

“I knew early that Trump definitely wasn’t the guy for me,” recalled Mr. Moline, an independent. But when it came to Mrs. Clinton, “I guess I had a bad taste in my mouth from her husband’s eight years in office.” He voted for Gary Johnson, the Libertarian candidate, a decision he regrets, and he feels at ease backing Mr. Biden.

“I identify more with Biden — whether that’s being a male chauvinist, or whatever you want to call me,” he said.

The point seems almost too obvious to note: Mr. Biden is not Mrs. Clinton. Yet for many Democrats and independents who sat out 2016, voted for third-party candidates or backed Mr. Trump, it is a rationale for their vote that comes up repeatedly: Mr. Biden is

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ALLAN TANNENBAUM/GETTY IMAGES

The East Village, Old and New

We tour the neighborhood where the Ramones, above, and many others have held court. Page C1.

From an Orphanage in Haiti to the Rose Garden

By CATHERINE PORTER
and SERGE F. KOVALESKI

When a devastating earthquake hit Haiti in 2010, a teenager named John Peter was playing basketball in the yard outside the small orphanage where he lived. He felt the earth bounce below him. He heard screams and watched a mushroom cloud of dust rising over the walls.

Two weeks later, he and 18 other children from the orphanage

After Ordeal, New Life
for Barrett Children

boarded a charter plane in the middle of the night as part of an American humanitarian effort. They landed in Sanford, Fla., to start new lives, in a new country, with new families.

“I saw the disaster and death all around. Dead moms, holding their

Resignation and Despair
Stoke Armenian Conflict

Battle With Azerbaijan Intensifies as Calls
to Suspend Fighting Go Unheeded

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

STEPANAKERT, Nagorno-Karabakh — On the front line, the stench is overwhelming. The remnants of fighters have been lying there for weeks.

In the trenches, there is fear. The Armenians are defenseless against the Azerbaijani drones that hover overhead and kill at will.

At the military graveyard, bulldozers have scraped away a hillside. It is already lined with two rows of new graves, along with soon-to-be-filled, freshly dug, rectangular holes.

The three-week-old conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over a disputed territory in the Caucasus Mountains, where Europe meets Asia, has settled into a brutal war of attrition, soldiers and civilians said in interviews here on the ground in recent days.

Azerbaijan is sacrificing columns of fighters, Armenians say, to eke out small territorial gains in the treacherous terrain of Nagorno-Karabakh, an ethnic Armenian enclave that is part of Azerbaijan under international law.

Civilians who have stayed behind live in their damp and unheated basements, converted in recent weeks with makeshift kitchens, and where some sleep on flattened cardboard boxes. The shelling and missile barrages into the towns in Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan have killed dozens of civilians and hundreds of soldiers and have filled the nights with terrifying flashes and booms.

In the city of Stepanakert in Nagorno-Karabakh, which I visited over four days last week with the photographer Sergey Ponomarev, artillery fire could often be heard in the distance. Late Friday the city itself came under attack. Air raid sirens and bangs and thuds sounded throughout the night, as hotel guests rushed repeatedly for the basement. At least one of the shells landed by the city center, il-

luminating my hotel window with a bolt of yellow light.

Manushak Titanyan, an architect in Nagorno-Karabakh, has already lost one of her buildings to the violence: the House of Culture in the hilltop town of Shusha, its roof gone, a piece of it stuck in a tree across the street, the plush red seats coated in dust, the stage curtain tangled amid the rubble.

Now she fears for her three sons, the youngest 18, who are at the front lines. She has kept herself busy by sewing military uniforms in an emergency workshop that the authorities set up in a factory in Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. When the building shook on a recent afternoon with the rumble of a nearby explosion, she barely skipped a beat and kept on sewing.

“War is probably the most terrible thing in the world,” Ms. Titanyan said. “All the most horrible things that man ever created rear their heads in their most horrible manifestation.”

For the region’s populace, the war is a continuation of on-off violent strife over both territory and history, with roots going back more than a century. Armenians and Azerbaijanis lived side by side in the Soviet days, until conflict over the disputed mountain territory called Nagorno-Karabakh exploded in the late 1980s into riots, expulsions and a years-long war.

Nagorno-Karabakh has been effectively independent since Armenia won the war in 1994, after the deaths of some 20,000 and the displacement of about a million people, mostly Azerbaijanis.

Azerbaijan launched its offensive on Sept. 27 and began making small territorial gains, backed by intense artillery fire and precision drone strikes. Armenia’s limited air defenses have failed to stop the drones, but its troops, bolstered

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Virus in Check,
China Economy
Bounces Back

By KEITH BRADSHER

BEIJING — As most of the world still struggles with the coronavirus pandemic, China is showing once again that a fast economic rebound is possible when the virus is brought firmly under control.

The Chinese economy surged 4.9 percent in the July-to-September quarter compared with the same months last year, the country’s National Bureau of Statistics announced on Monday. The robust performance brings China nearly back up to the roughly 6 percent pace of growth that it was reporting before the pandemic.

Many of the world’s major economies have climbed quickly out of the depths of a contraction last spring, when shutdowns caused output to fall steeply. But China is the first to report growth that significantly surpasses where it was at this time last year. The United States and other nations are expected to report a third-quarter surge too, but they are still behind or just catching up to pre-pandemic levels.

China’s lead could widen further in the months to come. It has almost no local transmission of the virus now, while the United States and Europe face another accelerating wave of cases.

The vigorous expansion of the Chinese economy means that it is set to dominate global growth — accounting for at least 30 percent

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INTERNATIONAL A9-13

Durable Crop Loses Its Luster

Lebanon’s economic crisis has made cannabis and hashish so unprofitable that farmers have given up. PAGE A9

No Entry for Wartime Partners

The flow of refugees into the U.S. has been cut, and even those who helped the military are being blocked. PAGE A10

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

A Trip With the ‘Quaranteam’

If vacationing with other families was complicated, the pandemic only made it more so. But for some travelers, the extra effort is worth it. PAGE A6

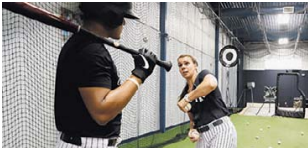
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Raging Wildfires in Colorado

More than 430,000 acres have burned in Colorado so far, making this one of its worst years on record. PAGE A14

If Roe Is Reversed

What happens if Roe vs. Wade is overturned? “Tremendous inequality in abortion access,” a report says. PAGE A20



SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

A Community of Their Own

Rachel Balkovec, a coach in the Yankees’ system, and other women in pro baseball connect via a text chain. PAGE D1

Activism and the W.N.B.A.

Its players have led the way for higher-profile professional leagues in combining social action and sports. PAGE D1

BUSINESS B1-6

Working From Home Till July

From Ford to Target to Microsoft, companies are delaying a return to the office for their white-collar employees until next summer. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES A22-23, 26

Actress Made for Technicolor

Rhonda Fleming was a popular sex symbol in Hollywood westerns, film noir and adventure movies of the 1940s and ’50s. She was 97. PAGE A26

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Ross Douthat

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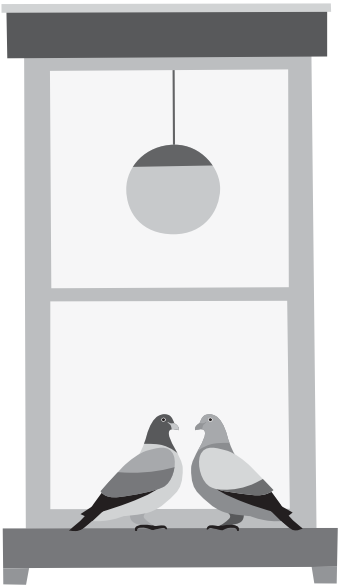
Cooking Up Something New

Bryan Washington’s debut novel touches on Houston, Osaka, food and personal relationships. PAGE C2



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Inside The Times

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY



WILLIAM WIDMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hurricane Delta hit Lake Charles, La., this month, after Hurricane Laura in August.

After Each Storm, I Think of Home

By ALLYSON WALLER

Storm after storm after storm seems to head right for the small Louisiana town where I was born. In late August, Hurricane Laura hit Lake Charles hard. Two weekends ago, many homes were again flooded after Hurricane Delta rolled through. Years ago, a powerful hurricane pushed my family into Lake Charles, and later, another pushed us out.

Each time I hear about a new hurricane stirring in the Gulf, taunting the state where my story began, part of my chest tightens. The hurricane season is a reminder to me that natural disasters are disruptive and unrelenting, displacing swaths of people and threatening the roots they had firmly established.

My memories of Hurricane Katrina and Rita in 2005 are pretty muddled. But there are things I will never forget: hours on the road that seemed endless, relatives packed into houses, and television news being the soundtrack to the hurricane season.

I remember living with my aunt and her family in Lake Charles for close to a month after my school in Mandeville, La., about 35 miles north of New Orleans, was closed after Katrina. But my days at the new school were numbered as Hurricane Rita headed for Lake Charles. Our family returned to our home in Mandeville, which had been largely spared from Katrina.

It's those faint memories that wash over me years later as Lake Charles has been battered again and again by unforgiving storms. This past summer, my aunt and uncle, like thousands of other Lake Charles residents, left in advance of hurricanes, only to return to a devastated city.

My aunt, Eunice Boutte (Aunt Mimi to me), is no stranger to hurricanes. The first one she remembers living through was Hurricane Audrey in 1957. She was just a little girl living in Lake Charles. At least 500 deaths were attributed to Audrey, according to the National Weather Service.

Fast forward to 2005, to Hurricane Rita. My aunt was director of nurses for a nursing home in Deguincy, La., and was tasked with evacuating patients before that storm. Fortunately, Rita spared her own home, although the same couldn't be said for the surrounding neighborhoods.

Over the years, the city rebuilt, businesses again sprouted and families reunited, but Hurricane Laura gave it all a forceful punch in August. Compared to 2005, the destruction was "a lot worse," my aunt said. A tree fell on her house. For now, she's settled with my parents in Conroe, Texas — about 40 miles outside Houston.

That sense of dislocation, and the weight of hurricanes — on my family and many others in the South — has only become more potent over the years. When we moved to Mandeville in 2003, my family's plan was to put down roots. But Katrina changed that. That year, 2005, my father's job as an accountant involved about a 40-minute commute to New Orleans. But after Katrina ravaged the city, his company relocated their offices to Houston.

For the rest of that year, and for some of 2006, my dad lived alone in an apartment while my mom and I remained in Mandeville so that I could finish the school year. The summer after Katrina, we moved to a Houston suburb to be with my father.

Looking back now, it's undeniable the privilege I had compared with so many other children during that time. I was in a constant bubble of safety, bouncing from one home to another, and under the care of parents who had the financial means to recuperate from the storm. Hurricanes, and moving because of them, just seemed like a fact of life.

Today, I like to think of myself as equal part Texan, equal part Louisianian. There isn't a year that's gone by where I don't visit family in Louisiana.

And still, hurricanes have continued to be a common thread in my life. After Katrina and Rita, there was Ike in 2008 and Harvey in 2017. We made it through both.

Over the years, we've had relatives flee storms and take refuge with us in Houston. Sometimes they return to intact homes and resume their lives. But as hurricanes continue to grow stronger, I hold my breath for what the future might hold.

Ms. Waller is part of the 2020-2021 New York Times Fellowship class and is a general assignment reporter on the Express desk. This essay appeared in the Race/Related newsletter. Sign up at nytimes.com/newsletters.

On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

SCHOOL CHILDREN GET IDENTIFICATION TAGS

October 19, 1951. The first batch went to 200,000 second and third graders in New York City's schools; distribution continued through the winter, grade by grade, until all students in kindergarten through fourth grade were covered. Similar to military dog tags, the metal disks — bearing a child's name, address, date of birth, parents' names and school — were designed as a civil defense measure amid the backdrop of the Cold War. For critics who contended the tags promoted war hysteria, school officials had this to offer: "It is better to be safe than sorry."

Subscribers can browse the complete Times archives through 2002 at timesmachine.nytimes.com.

The Newspaper And Beyond

CROSSWORD C3
OBITUARIES A22-23, A26
OPINION A24-25
WEATHER D8

VIDEO

Protesters marched in Washington on Saturday, voicing opposition to President Trump's nominee to the Supreme Court, Amy Coney Barrett.
nytimes.com/video



AUDIO

On the "Book Review" podcast, the historian Alan Mikhail talks about his book "God's Shadow" and the Ottoman Empire's influence on our modern world. Benjamin Lorr discusses his new work, "The Secret Life of Groceries."
nytimes.com/podcasts



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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

Of the tens of thousands of people to be granted asylum by Norway in the past decade, only 18 have been E.U. citizens, according to the country’s immigration statistics.

Norway Provides Asylum for an Antiracism Activist A12

The Diocese of Brooklyn includes 1.5 million Catholics in Brooklyn and Queens.

Catholics Chide Cuomo Over New Restrictions A8

Thailand abolished absolute monarchy in 1932, but the crown retains an exalted status and is protected by strict laws criminalizing any disparagement.

Thai Students’ Protests Grow Amid Attempts to Quell Them A9



AURÉLIA DURAND

Lebanon is the world’s third largest hashish supplier, after Morocco and Afghanistan, according to a 2019 report by the United Nations.

Crisis Erases Farmers’ Income From a Reliable Crop: Hashish A9

Seventy-three percent of U.S. employees fear that being in their workplace could pose a risk to their personal health and safety, according to a study commissioned by Envoy, a workplace technology company.

Your Cubicle Will Have to Wait B1

During Evo Morales’s presidency in Bolivia, the country’s poverty rate fell to 35 percent of the population from 60 percent, according to World Bank figures.

Bolivian Election Is Seen as Referendum on an Ousted Socialist Leader A12

In Iceland, visitor numbers rose to more than 2.3 million in 2018 from 459,000 in 2010.

Iceland Prepares for Tourism to Make a Comeback B5

The Conversation

SIX OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

There’s a Word for Why We Wear Masks, and Liberals Should Say It

This Opinion article by Michael Tomasky, a columnist for The Daily Beast and the editor of Democracy: A Journal of Ideas, looks at the employment of the word “freedom” in U.S. politics. He argues that Democrats must reclaim it from Republicans. It was Sunday’s most read article.

‘S.N.L.’ Takes on Trump and Biden’s Dueling Town Halls

“Saturday Night Live” played on the Thursday town hall broadcasts featuring President Trump and Joe Biden, who was portrayed again by the actor Jim Carrey.

As the Coronavirus Surges, a New Culprit Emerges: Pandemic Fatigue

Exhaustion and impatience are creating new risks as cases soar in parts of the world. “They have had enough,” one U.S. mayor said of her residents.

End Our National Crisis

The Times’s editorial board published a package of editorials that argue why President Trump should not be elected for a second term.

U.S. Schedules First Execution of a Woman In Nearly 70 Years

Lisa Montgomery had been convicted of killing a pregnant woman and attempting to pass the baby off as her own. She is the only woman on federal death row. Her death, by lethal injection, is scheduled for Dec. 8 at the Federal Correctional Complex in Terre Haute, Ind.

In My Mountain Town, We’re Preparing for Dark Times

Christopher Solomon, a contributing editor at Outside, brought readers to his home in Washington State’s North Cascades. “It is autumn again in the mountains of the West, and what is not gracefully dying is desperate to live,” he wrote. Residents are playing out the last warm days with anxiety, as the town’s winter rituals of huddling close does not seem safe this year.

Spotlight

STORIES CONTRIBUTED BY READERS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or less. This week’s batch of micro-nonfiction includes tales of a scar, a necklace and a first kiss. Read one here.



She saw me in college, found me online and told me I was cute. On our first date at a New Delhi cafe, her anxiety made her talk nonstop. We discussed how the world had so many children that we would never want to procreate. When I left the city to look for a better career, she insisted on dropping me at the railway station. It became our ritual whenever I visited. Those farewells were painful. But I never realized how grateful I was for her seeing me off until our final goodbye, when I was standing on the platform alone.

Manik Saggar

Quote of the Day

HOW THE W.N.B.A. BECAME AN AVATAR OF SOCIAL ACTIVISM D1

“People have power and don’t know it, or if they do know it, they abuse it.”

SEIMONE AUGUSTUS, a player with the W.N.B.A.’s Minnesota Lynx who spoke out against a proposed ban on same-sex marriage in Minnesota in 2012.

The Mini Crossword

BY JOEL FAGLIANO

	1	2	3	4
5				
6				
7				
8				

10/19/2020 EDITED BY WILL.SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Sports org. with the 2020 champion Seattle Storm
- 5 Time that’s “the charm”
- 6 H.S. class that can be blush-inducing
- 7 Regions
- 8 Chris of the current “S.N.L.” cast

DOWN

- 1 Question of location
- 2 Canceled
- 3 Food tossed to ducks
- 4 Does some summing
- 5 Nicholas II was Russia’s last one

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

D	R	A	G	
R	O	B	E	
Y	A	H	O	O
	S	O	D	A
	T	R	E	K

Here to Help

VANESSA FRIEDMAN ANSWERS YOUR STYLE QUESTIONS



I have been enjoying going out to restaurants again and being with friends in safe outdoor situations. But as the seasons have turned, I find myself shivering over my pasta. I don’t want to stop eating out (and I am not sure I am ready for indoor dining), but I also want to be able to enjoy it without freezing. At the same time, I feel dumb toting a winter coat. Any suggestions for what to wear to prolong the option as long as possible? LIZA, NEW YORK CITY



As someone who is perennially chilled, I get where you are coming from. There is something joyously liberating about being able to venture out of the house and engage with some semblance of our former social lives over a plate of food. (Whatever the pleasures of your own sourdough, it is great to have someone else do the cooking again.) And there is an equal surge of sorrow about the idea that it may all go away, whether because of actual weather or the frightening spike in Covid cases.

Everybody has to gauge their own comfort level, but if you are keen to go out, there are ways to prepare for a plunge in temperature while not transforming yourself into a woolly mammoth. Think, rather, of the mille-feuille. Which is to say: many delicate layers that when combined add up to a tantalizing whole.

This is a situation in which Uniqlo really comes into its own. Start with a base layer of its Heattech T-shirts — they are very thin and go under pretty much everything and come in all sorts of colors — and layer a sweater atop. Then just pop an ultralight down parka in a tote just in case. They can

be smooshed to the size of a large apple and come with their own little carrier pouches.

Another option is to disaggregate the suit jackets that may be hanging in your closet, unworn since offices closed. Try pairing them with jeans or other more casual pants, with a thin knit underneath. A friend of mine who runs a private equity fund likes to wear fleece underneath his jackets, but that can be bulky, so make sure there is enough room to raise your arms when you add your jacket.

Then bring either an additional vest or an oversize scarf (remember: Scarves are key and keep the neck warm) that can be knotted around a bag early in the evening and around your shoulders later on. Slip on this fat-fringed style from Anthropologie or this tweed version, and you’ll feel — well, toasty.

Every week in the Open Thread newsletter — a look from across The Times at the forces that shape the dress codes we share — The Times’s chief fashion critic, Vanessa Friedman, answers a reader’s fashion-related question. Sign up for Open Thread at nytimes.com/newsletters.

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N

Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times

HOT SPOTS

Virus Had a Field Day in a Utah School District

When students in a Salt Lake City suburb returned for the fall, cases spiked and several closures ensued.

By KATE TAYLOR

On a Friday in mid-September, Sunny Washington got a text from another mother at her daughter’s high school in an affluent suburb of Salt Lake City. Three weeks into the school year, the number of coronavirus cases at the school was rising, and the district was considering shifting to online instruction. The text urged parents to beg the school board to keep classrooms open. Ms. Washington ignored the text — she thought the school should be taking advice from public health experts, not parents. But other parents flooded the board with messages, and the school stayed open. Within a week, the number of cases had nearly quadrupled. A teacher was hospitalized and put on a ventilator. When the board finally closed the school temporarily, 77 students and staff members, including Ms. Washington’s daughter, had tested positive. “We’re talking 30 days in, and it went completely out of control,” Ms. Washington said.

Her daughter’s school, Corner Canyon High School, experienced one of the biggest coronavirus outbreaks at a school in Utah, and possibly the country, with 90 cases within two weeks — most likely an undercount, since not all students and staff who were exposed or symptomatic got tested. And Corner Canyon was not the only school in the district to have an outbreak. By Sept. 28, Canyons School District, with roughly 33,000 students, had temporarily closed three high schools and a middle school, telling about 8,000 students to learn from home.

The story of Canyons is an object lesson in what can happen when schools reopen in communities that are failing to contain the virus. In the two weeks before the district reopened, Salt Lake County had roughly 187 new cases per 100,000 people, a level at which some experts have advised against high schools opening in person; that level is two and a half times higher than the standard Washington State uses to recommend distance learning for all students.

Since then, with schools and colleges open, things have only worsened, as both the county and Utah have become hot spots. In the two weeks that ended Thursday, Salt Lake County had nearly 617 cases per 100,000 people. Over the last week, Utah had the sixth-highest rate of new cases per 100,000 people of any state and set a new state record for the number of people hospitalized with the virus.

On Tuesday, Gov. Gary Herbert ordered stricter restrictions on social gatherings and mask wearing in Salt Lake County and other hard-hit counties, calling Utah’s outbreak “one of the worst” in the country and “unacceptable.”

Yet despite the conditions at the start of the school year, Canyons School District took only modest steps to prevent the virus from spreading in its buildings. The state had mandated that students and staff members wear masks in school, allowing unmasked sports practice and competition. But with nearly 80 percent of Canyons students opting for in-person school, the district seems to have made few adjustments to accommodate social distancing in classrooms. The district also did not make coronavirus testing part of its reopening plan, leaving those decisions to families.

Canyons is also an example of how the nation’s 13,000 school districts are struggling to find workable policies in the absence of clear standards from the federal government and many state governments. The result has been a patchwork of policies varying from state to state and often district to district.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, which have faced pressure from the White House to avoid discouraging school districts from reopening, have declined to provide specific guidance on what districts should do when infections rise in a school or the surrounding community.

The Utah Department of Health advised switching to remote learning for two weeks if a school reached 15 cases within two weeks or, for a very small school, if the number of cases represented a tenth of the student population. But the guidance was only a recommendation.

“We’ve forced every school district to figure out how to respond to a pandemic on its own, and it’s insane,” said Dr. Ashish Jha, dean of the Brown University School of Public Health.

“There should be clear guidance — whether it’s Department of Education, or C.D.C., or ideally a combination — so that you don’t have every school district in America with different thresholds, different approaches, different measures.”

Over the summer, Canyons said it would adhere to the state health department’s standard for closing schools. But when Corner Canyon reached 15 cases the school board decided to ignore the guidance, shifting the school to a hybrid schedule instead of going fully remote.

The board ultimately adopted its own standard, which stipulated that it would shift high schools to remote learning



PHOTOGRAPHS BY LINDSAY D'ADDATO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Playing after-school sports at Corner Canyon High School. Students had to wear masks but testing was not part of the Canyons School District’s reopening plan.



Jennifer Santos, whose older son attends Brighton High School, complained on the district’s Facebook page when the school had 19 cases yet stayed open.

when positive cases represented 2 percent of the students attending in-person classes — mostly, one board member suggested, because at that point the number of students quarantined from possible exposure would become unmanageable.

When the board decided to close Corner Canyon, on Sept. 18, the school’s 77 reported cases represented more than 3 percent of the roughly 2,250 students attending in person. (By contrast, New York City, which recently reopened schools on a hybrid model, has said that in certain situations it will close schools for only two positive cases in separate classrooms.)

In a Canyons board meeting on Sept. 15, when Corner Canyon was at 42 cases, one board member, Steve Wrigley, said he had looked in vain for national standards. “There really is not many guidelines out there right now — everybody is sort of flying by their seat,” Mr. Wrigley said.

Another board member, Clareen Arnold, cited a C.D.C. statement about the importance of in-person school to children’s mental health and development, inserted at the behest of the White House, as an argument for keeping Corner Canyon open.

In a community that parents and

One big mistake? Few adjustments were made to accommodate social distancing in classrooms.

teachers described as deeply divided over whether the virus represents a real threat, the board’s decision left parents on both sides angry. Some were upset that the board had ignored the health department’s guidance, while others thought that schools should not close until 10 percent of the students had tested positive.

Before the board made its decision, parents and students gathered with signs saying things like “Keep Our Schools OPEN!!! Keep Utah FREE!!!” One mother argued that since no students were being forced to attend school in person, no students should be forced to stay home.

Many parents in the district do not support any virus restrictions. After Corner Canyon canceled most homecoming events, some parents organized their own homecoming party. The mayor of Draper, where the school is, said that he wished his constituents would follow



Corner Canyon had one of the biggest school outbreaks in Utah, and perhaps the country, with at least 90 confirmed coronavirus cases within two weeks.

public health guidance on matters like masking and social distancing, but that he could not force them to.

“I don’t think people are going to respond until they see people go into the hospital,” Mayor Troy K. Walker said.

Mr. Walker said he had heard from some Corner Canyon parents that there was an agreement among mothers at the school — he called it a “mom code” — not to get their children tested for the virus even if they became ill, to avoid adding to the school’s case count and contributing to it being shut down. (He said he told these parents he did not agree with this approach.)

Many parents and teachers are still bitter that the board did not close schools sooner. “We feel like we were deceived,” said Katie Nelson, a special education math teacher at a middle school in the district.

Jennifer Santos, whose older son is a freshman at Brighton High School, another of the schools that temporarily closed, said that when the school reached 19 cases and remained open, she complained on the district’s Facebook page.

“The answer was, ‘You’re welcome to keep your child home,’” she said.

Other parents, however, said that they believed that the academic and mental health benefits of being in school outweighed what they saw as the minimal risk posed by the virus.

A board member, Amanda Oaks, said that while there was concern nationally about the risks of students or teachers becoming ill from coronavirus in school, “My honest fear and the fear of some of my fellow board members is that that could completely flip the other direction as soon as we get a teen suicide associated with quarantine isolation.”

Some teachers in Canyons also feel strongly about the value of keeping schools open.

The teacher who was hospitalized, Charri Jensen, who teaches sewing and design, recovered enough to go home. In an interview, she said that she wanted

people to take the virus more seriously. But she also said that when she was well enough she planned to go back to work.

She had become a high school teacher because she loved the social rituals of high school — “the dances and the football games and the assemblies and the extracurricular things” — and it made her sad, she said, that her students were missing out on some of those traditions.

There are these things I want these kids to be able to experience in life,” she said. “But then, is it worth it — for life, you know?”

The increase in cases, driven by 15-to-24-year-olds, began in early September, shortly after schools reopened and students returned to colleges. The state health department believes the surge started among college-age adults in Utah County, just south of Salt Lake County, home to the state’s two biggest universities, and then spread to high school students. Mr. Walker, the Draper mayor, thinks that some teenagers in his town were infected when older siblings came home from college for the weekend.

Since the semester started, a dozen schools in Salt Lake County have temporarily shifted to online learning because of high numbers of cases.

In September, as the Canyons board put off closing Corner Canyon High School, district officials and board members said that a vast majority of cases in the district’s schools were the result of exposures outside of school and that there was minimal spread within schools themselves.

But a spokesman for the Salt Lake County Health Department, Nicholas Rupp, said it was very difficult to definitively determine in most cases where someone was infected.

In any event, once Corner Canyon shut its doors, cases among students and staff fell sharply. After a month of being closed, the school is set to reopen on Monday. As of last Wednesday, according to the district’s dashboard, it had between one and five cases.

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I AM RACHEL WILSON

Managing Director, Technology

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GROWING AGAIN

With Covid-19 Under Control, the Chinese Economy Is Bouncing Back

From Page A1

of the world's economic growth this year and in the years to come, Justin Lin Yifu, a cabinet adviser and honorary dean of the National School of Development at Peking University, said at a recent government news conference in Beijing.

Chinese companies are making up a greater share of the world's exports, manufacturing consumer electronics, personal protection equipment and other goods in high demand during the pandemic. At the same time, China is now buying more iron ore from Brazil, more corn and pork from the United States and more palm oil from Malaysia. That has partly reversed a nosedive in commodity prices last spring and softened the impact of the pandemic on some industries.

Still, China's recovery has done less to help the rest of the world than in the past because its imports have not increased nearly as much as its exports. This pattern has created jobs in China but placed a brake on growth elsewhere.

China's economic recovery has also been dependent for months on huge investments in highways, high-speed train lines and other infrastructure. And in recent weeks, the country has seen the beginning of a recovery in domestic consumption.

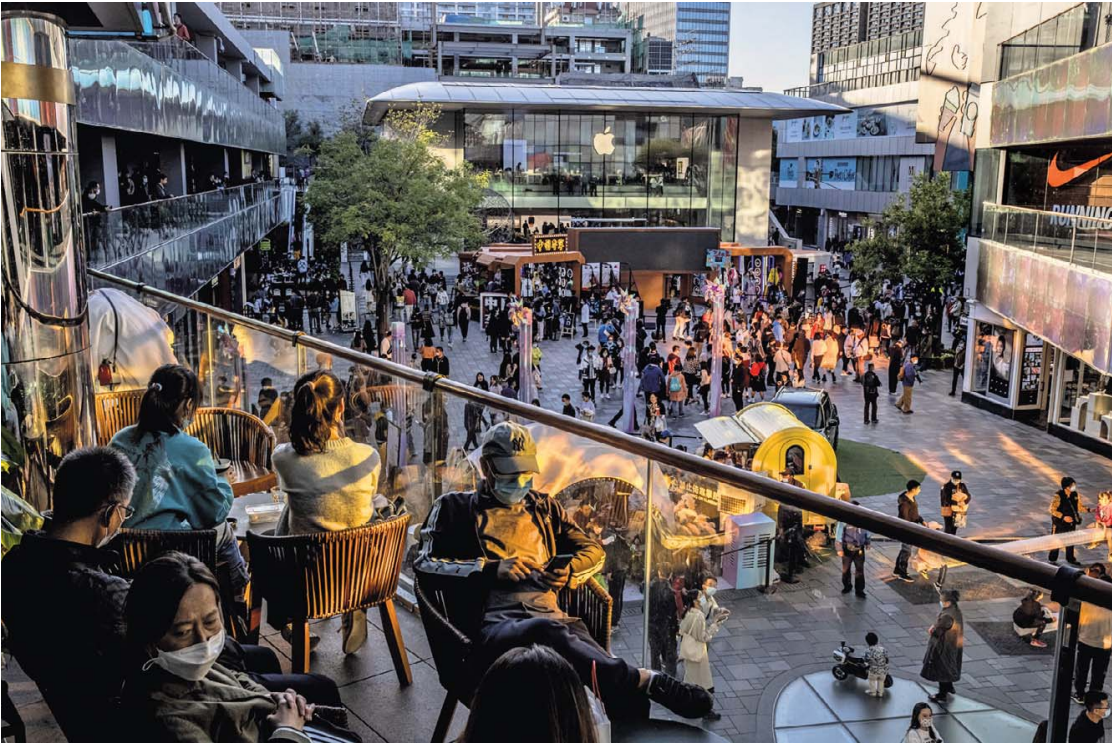
The affluent and people living in export-oriented coastal provinces were the first to start spending money again. But activity is resuming now even in places like Wuhan, the central Chinese city where the new coronavirus first emerged.

"You've had to line up to get into many restaurants in Wuhan, and for Wuhan restaurants that are popular on the internet, the wait is two or three hours," said Lei Yan-qiu, a Wuhan resident in her early 30s.

George Zhong, a resident of Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province in western China, said that he had made trips to three provinces in the past two months and has been actively shopping when he is home. "I spend no less than in previous years," Mr. Zhong said.

China's model for restoring growth may be effective, but may

Liu Yi and Amber Wang contributed research.



ROMAN PILIPEY/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A shopping area in Beijing during the "Golden Week" in early October. After months of lockdowns and restrictions, it was the first major holiday for Chinese people. Right, a restaurant last month in Wuhan, the city where the virus first emerged.

not be appealing to other countries.

Determined to keep local transmission of the virus at or near zero, China has resorted to comprehensive cellphone tracking of its population, weeklong lockdowns of neighborhoods and cities and costly mass testing in response to even the smallest outbreaks.

China's rebound also comes with some weaknesses, particularly a surge in overall debt this year by an amount equal to 15 to 25 percent of the economy's overall output. Much of the extra debt is either borrowing by local governments and state-owned enterprises to pay for new infrastructure, or mortgages taken out by households and companies to pay for apartments and new buildings.

The government is aware of the risk of letting debt accumulate quickly. But reining in new credit would hurt real estate activity, a sector that represents up to a quarter of the economy.

Another risk to China's recovery is its heavy dependence on exports. The surge in exports in the past three months, along with lower prices for imports of commodities, accounted for a big chunk of economic growth, one of the largest shares of any quarter in a decade. Exports still represent over 17 percent of China's economy, more than double the proportion that they make up in the American economy.

China's leaders recognize that the country's exports are increasingly vulnerable to geopolitical tensions, including the Trump administration's moves to unwind



HECTOR RETAMAL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

trade relations between the United States and China. Shifts in global demand might also threaten exports, as the pandemic batters overseas economies.

Xi Jinping, China's top leader, has increasingly emphasized self-reliance, a strategy that calls for expanding service industries and innovation in manufacturing, as

well as enabling residents to spend more.

"We need to make consumers the mainstay," said Qiu Baoxing, a cabinet adviser who is a former vice minister of housing, at the news conference in Beijing. "By focusing on domestic circulation, we are actually enhancing our own resilience."

TRAVEL

Multiple Families Going On Vacation Isn't Over. Just Buy a Pod Package.

By SARAH FIRSHEIN

Seven months into the pandemic, the recommended rules for families are clear: Safety first means safety in low numbers. Learning pods are small. Social bubbles are guarded. The "quaranteam" lines have been drawn — at home and on the road.

"By this point, we've all gotten to know the tribe in our pandemic 'lane,'" said Stacie Krajchir-Tom, 52, a Los Angeles brand consultant who is heading to Ojai, Calif., next month with several families from her son's third-grade class. "That's who you're most likely going to want to travel with."

But if vacationing with other families was complicated in *Before Times* — splitting costs, calling dibs on bedrooms — the coronavirus has only doused the fire with more fuel. Groups must contend with frank discussions, personal frustration and, in some cases, canceled trips. Hotels, advisers and other travel companies are adjusting to a new set of guest concerns and interpersonal dynamics. But for travelers like Ms. Krajchir-Tom, the extra effort is worth it.

"Being on vacation with your friends is always a fun thing," she said. "But especially during Covid, the greatest gift we can give our kids right now is a shift in environment."

The New Concerns

When it came time for her annual trip with friends this summer, Linda Baird didn't fret about closed borders or canceled flights; the Airbnb the group had rented in January was on a private waterfront in Maryland, and she and her family would be road-tripping from Columbus, Ohio. She did, however, worry about the drive, especially at a time when Ohio infection rates were peaking.

"I asked myself a few times about whether the stress of getting there would outweigh the experience of being there," said Ms. Baird, 39, a freelance writer and stay-at-home parent of two children, 4 and 7. "We didn't tell the

kids until about a week before leaving because we knew that things could change at any time."

For her, communication with her friends — a tight-knit crew of four families with eight children in total — was key. Not only did they discuss how the costs would be divided and who would bring the breakfast bagels, they also checked in with each other throughout the spring and summer, monitoring local infection rates and agreeing to get tested before the trip. And they talked through what would happen if someone fell ill in Maryland, designating the rental's detached guesthouse as an obvious place to self-isolate.

"We were constantly asking, 'What is your exposure like? What is your comfort level?'" Ms. Baird said. "There were lots of conversations about how we were living our day-to-day lives and what we could do to make this a fun — and safe — vacation."

Conversations like that are vital, said Marisa G. Franco, a psychologist and friendship expert.

"Friends should certainly have discussions from the get-go about boundaries, priorities and the issues that could arise," she said. "It may feel awkward, but it will feel way more awkward if your friend shows up and she's not wearing a mask."

But as Judy Nelson, 38, learned while deciding whether to travel with three other families to Seaside Heights, N.J., this summer, even teed-up quarantine values can turn into a case of "the best-laid plans."

"There was a bit of 'I really want to go but I'm sort of on the fence' conversations, but truthfully, it all fluctuated with how the news was looking," said Ms. Nelson, the communications director at a design firm.

A few weeks before the July trip, Ms. Nelson and her husband, who live in Brooklyn, took their toddler daughter to Jacob Riis Park, a beach in Queens. She relayed what she saw — droves of mask-less sun-seekers — to the



BETH COLLIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

group. A few texts and emails later, they canceled their Jersey Shore vacation.

"Canceling felt heavier this year than in other years, because in other years we would have all had more changes of scenery by now," she said.

Others found that their trips were no match for travel restrictions and clamped-down borders.

Patrick McDermott, who lives in Abu Dhabi, was excited about heading to Connemara, in Western Ireland, with the group of friends he has traveled with every summer for more than 15 years, despite their being spread across multiple continents and countries.

"It has become a cherished tradition and something that all of us, especially our kids, look forward to all year," said Mr. McDermott, 42, the founder of the points-and-miles website *The Expat Flyer*.

When the Irish government announced new travel restrictions, four of six families in Mr. McDermott's group pivoted to a camping trip in Switzerland. But Mr. McDermott and his family had to tag along on WhatsApp: There were reports that United Arab Emirates residents were getting stuck overseas because of the pandemic, and they didn't want to risk it.

"Missing everyone getting together in Switzerland was heartbreaking," Mr. McDermott said. "The strength of these relationships was particularly evident over the last six months — these

friends were our first port of call for advice and support."

As for Ms. Krajchir-Tom, her school "hive" shares beliefs about masks and distancing. Yet there was one issue that failed to draw a consensus.

"There are families that were definitely not getting on a plane, and there's the camp that's completely down to fly," she said.

The more risk-tolerant subset may eventually head to Baja California. But for now, Ojai, about 90 miles from Los Angeles, was the compromise. The group will stay at The Capri Hotel, whose pandemic protocols Ms. Krajchir-Tom and another mother can vouch for firsthand, having visited with their sons during a quick getaway in August.

The Travel Industry Reacts

In a flash poll on Instagram this summer, Virtuoso, a network of luxury travel agencies, found that 79 percent of users would travel with families whose pandemic values align with their own.

Luxury resorts like Eden Roc Cap Cana, in the Dominican Republic, and The Ocean Club, A Four Seasons Resort, in the Bahamas, are fielding a steady stream of inquiries from such groups.

"We've seen an increase in family pods taking over an entire three- or four-bedroom villa residence or booking suites close to each other," said John Conway, the Ocean Club's general manager.

Exactly who's sleeping where is

"decision point No. 1," said Amie O'Shaughnessy, the founder and chief executive of Ciao Bambino!, a Virtuoso agency that specializes in family travel.

"One of the big questions to ask is: Are you going to be in the same house? Are you actually vacationing side-by-side and safely adjacent to one another?" said Ms. O'Shaughnessy. "Or are you saying: We're going to decide that we're totally on the same page and share a home?"

Intrepid Travel, which runs affordable small-group tours, has four new Family Retreats, designed for three to five families apiece. The new pod packages at The St. Regis Bahia Beach, in Puerto Rico, include customizable picnics and guided rainforest excursions.

Rental companies are also experiencing strong interest by multifamily groups, seen chiefly in booking rates for large homes. But some report that reservations aren't necessarily translating into arrivals.

"We have encountered several instances where one or two guests in the reservation will initially back out, making the trip less affordable for everyone else," said Andreas King Geovanis, the founder of Sextant Stays, a Miami-based hospitality company. "This has a ripple effect, and the group continues to dwindle until they ultimately decide to cancel altogether."

That's exactly what happened

But empowering consumers has long been a challenge in China. Under ordinary circumstances, most Chinese are compelled to save for education, health care and retirement because of a weak social safety net. The economic slowdown, and the pandemic, have meant lost jobs, compounding the problem, particularly for low earners and rural residents.

Beijing's approach to helping ordinary Chinese during the slowdown has been to provide companies with tax rebates and large loans from state-owned banks, so that businesses would not need to lay off workers. But some economists argue that Beijing should instead be handing out coupons or checks to more directly assist the country's poorer citizens.

Millions of Chinese migrant workers endured at least a month or two of unemployment in the spring as factories were slow to reopen after the epidemic. Young Chinese found themselves dipping into their savings to eat or taking on second jobs to make up for slashed wages.

But Chinese government economists are wary of providing direct payments to consumers. They say that the government's priorities are investment-driven growth and measures to improve productivity and quality of life, such as digging new sewerage systems or adding elevators to three million older apartment towers that lack them.

"We've seen a lot of suggestions to increase consumption, but the crux is to enrich people first," said Yao Jingyuan, a former chief economist of the National Bureau of Statistics who is now a policy researcher for the cabinet.

Western governments have experimented with providing extra-large unemployment checks, one-time payments and even subsidized meals at restaurants. These payments have been aimed at helping families sustain a minimum standard of living through the pandemic — which in turn has fueled demand for imports from China.

Michael Pettis, a finance professor at Peking University, said that as people in other countries supported by government subsidies continue to turn to China for products during the pandemic, "we're going to see a resurgence of trade conflict, and not just U.S.-China, but global."

Stacie Krajchir-Tom, with her husband, Kristopher, and her son, Milo. She doesn't mind the extra effort that's required to travel amid the pandemic.

to Torben Lonne, who lives in Copenhagen and runs DIVEIN.com, a scuba-diving website. Mr. Lonne was set to travel to Egypt with his uncle's family but in late September — after the group had been virus-tested and loaded up with travel insurance — his uncle reneged, citing infection rates in Egypt. The trip was canceled.

"Everything was set for us to go," Mr. Lonne, 34, said. "I felt very disappointed and annoyed that my uncle would back out at the last moment, and once everything was canceled we didn't speak for a while."

'A Break From Anxiety'

No one in Ms. Baird's group ended up in the guesthouse, and even the trip's misadventures — one power outage, one jellyfish sting — did little to dampen her perspective.

"As soon as I got there, I felt a moment of normalcy," she said. "We had done everything possible to prepare, and the trip was a break from the anxiety of the pandemic."

For Montoya Hudson, 35, of Katy, Texas, it was crucial to get the pandemic-related brass tacks out of the way so that the fun — a friends' trip to Tennessee next month — could begin.

"We said, 'Hey, this is what we've been doing, this is what we would like to do with you, have you guys been doing the same?'" said Ms. Hudson, who works in health care information technology and runs The Spring Break Family, a travel blog. "We've been restricting outside activity, going on the side of caution and keeping to ourselves."

Ms. Hudson and her friend Monet Hambrick, who runs The Traveling Child, another travel blog, are eager for a break from their cabin fever. They're also looking forward to visiting key sites from the civil rights movement and Black history with their husbands and school-age daughters (they each have two).

"I know it sounds very simple, but I miss people," Ms. Hudson said. "My daughters haven't had the chance to socialize with their friends; I don't get to chat with my co-workers in the hallway. This seems like a nice way to merge the desire to travel with the need to see friends."

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Crisis Erases Farmers’ Income From a Reliable Crop: Hashish

By BEN HUBBARD

YAMOUNEH, Lebanon — In a Lebanese farming village of rocky soil and stone villas, cannabis grows everywhere.

It fills the fields that surround the village and lines nearby roads where the army operates checkpoints. It sprouts in the weedy patches between homes and is mixed with other colorful blooms in flower beds.

There is a cannabis crop near the mosque, and down the road from a giant yellow flag for Hezbollah, the militant group and political party whose leaders forbid its use on religious grounds.

Jamal Chraif, the mukhtar, or village chief, of Yamouneh, praised cannabis as “a blessed shrub” for what he called its many beneficial properties and the ease of its cultivation.

“There is something sacred about it,” he said. “God makes it grow.”

But for the first time since he began growing cannabis two decades ago, Mr. Chraif planted none this year because a chain of events has erased most of the profits that used to come with the village’s main product: the hashish extracted from the plant. Instead, he is focusing on apples.

He blames the woes afflicting the village, and Lebanon in general, on cosmic forces, including aliens, the Antichrist and the Bermuda Triangle — an explanation that could have been inspired by the drug itself.

The reality is more terrestrial. The Lebanese pound has lost 80 percent of its value against the United States dollar since last fall, and farmers have taken the hit. The costs of imported fuel and fertilizer needed to grow the crop have soared, while the Lebanese pounds that growers earn by selling their hash are worth less and less.

Lebanon’s financial crisis has also undermined the drug’s domestic market, and the war in Syria has snarled smuggling routes, making it harder for middlemen to reach foreign markets.

This has forced painful choices in

Cannabis remains illegal to produce, possess and sell in Lebanon.

Yamouneh, a picturesque hamlet in a neglected pocket of Lebanon where drugs, poverty, religion and stunning natural beauty converge in unexpected ways.

For as long as anyone alive can remember, the yearly cycle in Yamouneh has been driven by the planting, weeding and harvesting of cannabis.

The hashish extracted from the plant and sold to smugglers who spirit it out of the country has done more than any other crop to help the village residents edge out of abject poverty. It has provided reliable income not offered by their legal, more fickle crops, like apples and potatoes, and funded home expansions, truck purchases and children’s educations.

Now, the drug earns so little that some growers in Yamouneh doubt it is still worth producing.

“It’s over,” Mr. Chraif said. “Now, growing hashish is a hobby.”

The production here and in other

Hwaida Saad and Kareem Chehayeb contributed reporting.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DIEGO IBARRA SANCHEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Syrians working in a cannabis field in Yamouneh, Lebanon. Many are minors, out of school because of the pandemic, who earned about \$2.50 for the day.



Transporting bags of cannabis to dry and cure at a warehouse in Yamouneh. Lebanon is the world’s third largest hashish supplier, according to the U.N.

communities made Lebanon the world’s third largest hashish supplier, after Morocco and Afghanistan, according to the United Nations.

Although hashish, a cannabis concentrate with high levels of THC, is illegal to produce, possess and sell in Lebanon, the government earlier this year passed a law legalizing some cannabis cultivation for medicinal purposes. The law has yet to be implemented, and the cannabis grown in Yamouneh remains illegal because of its high THC content.

Now Lebanon’s economic crisis threatens to do what years of army raids and government efforts to combat the drug never did: reduce hashish production.

While fondly recalling the days when a kilogram of hashish easily fetched between \$500 and \$800 — and the few years when the price shot above \$1,000 — the farmers fear the earnings for this year’s product could fall to around \$100 per kilo, or about \$45 a pound.

“If the situation stays like this, we won’t plant,” one longtime grower said, speaking on condition of anonymity like others to avoid legal jeopardy. “Hope has been cut off.”

But the full effects of hashish’s declining appeal as a cash crop are yet to be seen in the village. Even as some farmers are abandoning it, others are still clinging on.

During a recent visit, scores of Syr-

ian refugees swung scythes to fell waist-high cannabis plants outside town, then piled the cut stalks into large bales. Most were minors, some as young as 9, who said they welcomed the work since fears of the coronavirus had shut their schools.

They earned about \$2.50 for a long day in the sun.

The landowner looked on, occasionally raising a shotgun from his shoulder to fire at birds overhead. He had grown up with hashish and said this was the worst year he had ever seen. The costs for imported supplies — fuel, fertilizer and plastic sheeting to bale the harvest — ate into his profits, but tradition kept him growing.

“We were born into this,” he said. “If there were no hashish here, you wouldn’t see a single house in the village.”

The 5,000 or so citizens of Yamouneh, at the base of a mountain in the Bekaa Valley, are Shiite Muslims. Nearly all share the same last name, Chraif. About 1,200 Syrians have settled in the area to look for work and escape the war across the border.

Talal Chraif, the mayor and elected head of the village council — and a rare resident who says he has never grown cannabis — attributed its prominence to chronic unemployment and the plant’s suitability for the local environment.

“No sickness afflicts it. The bugs don’t attack it. The lack of water doesn’t affect it,” Mr. Chraif said. “There is a guarantee with the crop, and that is why the farmers went in that direction.”

He recalled the old days when the Lebanese government, with funding from the United States, tried to snuff out cannabis, dispatching soldiers to torch fields and sparking clashes with

armed growers. But those efforts yielded to official neglect about a decade ago.

“It reached a state where they realized, because of the poverty, ‘Let’s leave those people alone and act like we don’t see them,’” Mr. Chraif said.

Efforts to replace cannabis with sunflowers and saffron never took off.

Two years ago, as Lebanon’s finances slid toward the abyss, McKinsey, the consulting giant, generated a national buzz by suggesting that legal cannabis cultivation could earn the country big profits.

“The quality we have is one of the best in the world,” Raed Khoury, the economy minister at the time, said, suggesting it could spawn a \$1 billion industry.

Lebanon did legalize cannabis in February of this year, the first Arab country to do so. But the government has made no progress since on implementing the law.

And since hashish is still illegal, and the government would be able to tax legal strains of cannabis, Yamouneh’s farmers, long used to operating outside the law, opposed legalization.

The many two- and three-story villas and pricey SUVs out front bear testament to the cash that hashish has brought to the village, but residents say the big money has always gone to the smugglers.

As he was receiving struggling farmers outside his home, the mayor said he expected hashish production to drop by as much as half this year as growers struggle to make ends meet.

“They are asking, ‘Why should I grow it if I am going to lose?’” he said. “They smoke it themselves to forget their worries.”

Thai Students’ Protests Grow Amid Attempts to Quell Them

By HANNAH BEECH and MUKTITA SUHARTONO

BANGKOK — Thai authorities shut down parts of Bangkok’s commercial center and crippled public rail networks over the weekend in an effort to prevent young demonstrators from continuing their antigovernment protests.

It didn’t work.

Tens of thousands of members of the pro-democracy movement, which has been galvanized by a political awakening among social media savvy students, gathered in Thailand’s capital and in about 20 provinces on Saturday and Sunday to call for fresh elections, a new Constitution and reforms to the monarchy’s lofty position in Thai society.

“I wasn’t always politically active,” said Perakarn Tangsamritkul, 23, who participated in one of several rallies in Bangkok on Saturday. “You should have met me three months ago. Now I understand why we have to be here. We have to speak out.”

Over the past few days, Thailand’s military-linked government, led by Prayuth Chan-ocha, a retired general who orchestrated an army coup in 2014, has intensified efforts to snuff out the monthslong protests. But the calls for change appear to have gotten only stronger, making once-taboo political sentiments suddenly commonplace.

And in a country divided for decades between hostile factions — broadly, an

urban elite and a rural base that has long felt ignored as Thailand’s wealth gap has grown — the current pro-democracy movement has transcended the traditional political rifts.

A 30-year-old civil servant who attended a rally at Victory Monument in Bangkok on Sunday said that he was gratified that the young generation had the courage to come out. He declined to provide his name given his government job, but said that he and the student protesters were united in the belief that the country had to change.

For years, Thais would elect populist leaders, only to see them removed by military coups or judicial maneuvers that were approved by the palace. The country’s political old guard argued that the elected prime ministers were corrupt and adept at milking the system, charming the masses with promises of cheap health care and crop subsidies.

According to the country’s political elite, some of those elected leaders also challenged the authority of the constitutional monarch by positioning themselves as rivals in popularity to the king.

Protecting the monarchy was a prime justification for the 2014 coup, after which democracy withered. Mr. Prayuth refused to hold elections for another five years. A military-drafted Constitution decreed that the Senate would be entirely appointed. Outspoken critics of the military and the monarchy have been



ADAM DEAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tens of thousands of protesters rallied at Victory Monument in Bangkok on Sunday, calling for elections, a Constitution and reforms to the monarchy.

jailed, killed or gone missing.

Even when elections were held last year, international observers deemed them less than fair. Mr. Prayuth remains the country’s prime minister and defense minister.

The state of affairs in Thailand has recently compelled some members of the establishment to speak up.

On Saturday, hundreds of doctors signed a letter against the water cannons used to forcibly disperse protesters the day before.

Hours later, Dr. Jarosdao Rimphanitchayakit, a surgeon, was fired for having her name among the 386 doctors.

The Thai authorities have built a formidable legal structure to try to criminalize the movement. On Thursday, the government issued an emergency decree in which public gatherings of more than four people were banned in the Thai capital, an order that has been totally ignored. With their emergency powers, the police can also declare any place in Bangkok off-limits to protesters.

Each day, the authorities detain more protest leaders, but new organizers come forward. Thai Lawyers for Human Rights said more than 80 protesters have been arrested over the past five days.

On Sunday, the police warned that

Authorities have used arrests, legal intimidation and water cannons.

posting a selfie from the protests on social media could lead to two years in prison. So could checking in online from a protest site.

A government spokesman said that while Mr. Prayuth was committed to listening to problems from all sides, he was also alert to any protesters who might incite violence.

Parliament has been warned to stand by for a special session on Monday.

Far more incendiary than calling for Mr. Prayuth’s exit are the protesters’ demands that the king, one of the world’s richest monarchs, must hew to the Constitution rather than floating above it as a semidivine being.

Thailand abolished absolute monarchy in 1932, but the crown retains an exalted status and is protected by strict laws criminalizing disparagement. On Friday, two protesters were charged with committing “an act of violence against the queen’s liberty” after they yelled in surprise at a passing royal motorcade in Bangkok two days earlier. If convicted, they could serve life in prison.

King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodindebayavarangkun, his queen and the heir apparent live mostly in Germany, even as the king has expanded his control over the crown’s finances and military units. The protesters have stressed that they are not looking to topple the king; they chanted “reform the monarchy” by the thousands on Sunday.

Refugees Risked Lives Helping U.S. Military, But Nation Blocks Entry

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — The certificate of appreciation that Hanadi Al Haidari’s family received for providing shelter, food and translation services for the United States military still looks brand-new, without even a crease. She keeps it next to her Iraqi passport in her new home in Denver.

The document is both proof of the risk the family took to assist American soldiers and a reminder of a promise unkept. Ms. Al Haidari’s brother, Ahmed, whose work as a translator for the troops allowed his family to apply for a priority refugee visa to the United States, remains in limbo in the Middle East, struggling to support his 9-year-old son.

“He just wants the basic rights of a normal person,” Ms. Al Haidari said, adding that she did not blame any specific official or government for the delay in approval for her brother’s resettlement. But she was also quick to note that her family’s displacement was rooted in the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the ensuing upheaval. “We wanted to come here because we don’t have a home,” she said. “We don’t have a country anymore.”

The Trump administration had reserved 4,000 slots for Iraqi refugees who had helped American troops, contractors or news media or who are members of a persecuted minority group in the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30. It ultimately admitted only 161 Iraqis — or 4 percent — to the United

More than 9,800 Iraqis were welcomed to America in 2016. In 2019, it was 465.

States, the lowest percentage of the four categories of refugees the administration authorized for resettlement last year. While the coronavirus pandemic caused refugee flights to be canceled for months, immigration lawyers also cited the lasting effects of President Trump’s initial refugee bans and expanded vetting of those fleeing persecution. Of the 5,000 slots reserved for victims of religious persecution, 4,859 were filled — a reflection, perhaps, of the administration’s political priorities.

Ms. Al Haidari’s hopes for her family’s reunion dimmed further last month when Mr. Trump told Congress he planned to cut the cap on refugees for a fourth straight year. The number of refugees admitted depends on the administration and world events, but the ceiling for the current fiscal year, 15,000, is the lowest in the program’s four decade-long history. During the Obama adminis-

John Ismay contributed reporting.

tration, the cap was at least 70,000 a year. The announcement came as Mr. Trump fell back on the kind of anti-immigration messaging that has been a staple of his campaigns, tarring refugees as threats to public safety and the economy, despite multiple studies debunking such generalizations. He also used the issue to attack his Democratic opponent, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., who has proposed raising refugee admissions to 125,000.

But families like the Al Haidaris make for unlikely political targets. Veterans and active-duty service members fear that the exclusion of those who assisted the military from resettlement is the real threat to national security because such cooperation will be harder to come by in future conflicts. More than 9,800 Iraqis were welcomed to the United States in 2016, according to State Department data. By the 2019 fiscal year, that was down to 465.

“If the message is sent that those who stepped up to help American service members were left behind, forgotten, and to die, then it’s going to significantly reduce the likelihood of people stepping forward in the future in other countries to help U.S. service members with their missions,” said Allen Vaught, a former captain in the Army who served in Iraq from 2003 to 2004.

Mr. Vaught has helped two Iraqis and their families resettle in Texas, his home state, where he served in the Legislature from 2007 to 2011. Two other translators who helped his squad were executed, Mr. Vaught said. He has spent years lobbying for the approval of a fifth who fled to Egypt in 2014 to escape retaliation from Iraqi militia groups. At least 110,000 Iraqis are waiting to be approved as refugees based on their assistance to the American authorities, according to resettlement organizations.

“Anyone who worked with U.S. forces had a scarlet letter,” Mr. Vaught said. “They had a mark on their head. And the way they killed them was gruesome. One of my translators was burned alive.”

“We’ve got a lot of things to make right,” he added.

The administration tried to revamp the refugee program last year not only by reducing the overall cap on admissions but also by empowering local governments to block resettlement in their communities, a move that has been halted while opponents litigate it in the courts.

Those seeking refuge in the United States have long had to undergo multiple interviews with immigration officers and organizations contracted by the State Department to obtain approval to travel to the United States. In Iraq, those interviews were slowed last year by the withdrawal of non-essential employees from the American Embassy in Baghdad.



Afghan refugees in Turkey in February. Last year, the Trump administration reduced the overall cap on refugee admissions.



The Al Hol camp in Syria in 2019. Those seeking refuge in America have to undergo interviews with immigration officers.

The administration now requires additional information from many refugees and their families. Applicants from 11 countries — most of them with Muslim majorities — have to wait for their social media accounts to be vetted, exacerbating delays. Their relatives, including children, have been subjected to additional security screenings.

And refugees have been asked to provide phone numbers and addresses dating back 10 years instead of five — no easy task for a family that may have been searching for a permanent residence for years, according to a report published this month by the International Refugee Assistance Project, or IRAP.

“It creates a really convenient feedback loop if you actually don’t want to admit refugees,” said Becca Heller, the group’s executive director.

The State Department’s press office said in a statement that the agency needed to conduct the additional security screenings to en-

sure that those being allowed to resettled in the country had been properly vetted.

Mr. Vaught’s former translator, now in Egypt, is caught in that loop, waiting to clear security checks even after he was told to prepare to travel to the United States in 2017.

The translator earned the support of the troops he helped. In an interview, he asked to be identified as Sam, the nickname Mr. Vaught’s team gave him.

“I believe it is too dangerous for him to work in Falluja any longer,” an Army officer wrote in a 2004 memo requesting that the Army relocate Sam. “He has been loyal and trustworthy and deserves our appreciation.”

That same year, a militia group fired more than a dozen shots at Sam and lobbed a bomb at his home, according to written testimony he provided in a lawsuit against the administration’s expanded vetting. He decided he needed to get away from his wife and two daughters for their safety.

After bouncing from home to home in Iraq, he escaped in 2014 to Egypt, where he hoped to complete the refugee process.

Sam said he still feared for his family’s safety.

“Even death is better than the situation I’m in,” he said in a phone interview. “They took my integrity with all of this.”

Another path to the United States for Iraqis and Afghans who assisted the military is to apply for a special immigration visa, but that program has also faced extensive delays. Despite a congressional mandate that the State and Homeland Security Departments process the visas within nine months, more than 8,000 applicants have been stalled longer than that, according to IRAP, which is fighting the delays in court.

Sibghatullah Nooristani, an Afghan translator for the U.S. military, requested a special visa for him and his family to leave Afghanistan in 2013. As the delays mounted, he eventually reached out on Facebook to someone he had worked with in the military, Marc Silvestri.

Mr. Silvestri, 42, had served in Afghanistan from 2008 to 2009 and promised to help. He could not believe the process was taking so long, as Mr. Nooristani’s family faced death threats for helping the American troops.

Mr. Silvestri contacted members of Congress and community members in Revere, Mass., to build support for Mr. Nooristani’s case. When Mr. Nooristani finally arrived at Boston Logan International Airport this June, a group of police officers, members of the Revere City Council and Mr. Silvestri’s family were there to greet him.

“Our government has left so

many of them behind,” said Mr. Silvestri, the director of veteran services for Revere. “These people have actually served your country already. Let’s give these guys a shot.”

Mr. Nooristani is still fearful for his brother-in-law, who remains overseas. It is the same concern that has made Ms. Al Haidari’s parents so depressed in Denver. After passing each security screening, Ms. Al Haidari, her parents and her brother were separately approved to travel to the United States. Ms. Al Haidari arrived first in 2016, and her parents two weeks later. She said immigration officials told the family Ahmed would be cleared to travel in the coming weeks.

Then Mr. Trump signed his initial ban on refugees, and Ahmed has been caught in the bureaucracy of expanded vetting.

Ms. Al Haidari said her mother remained glued to television news, listening for new policies that would make it even harder for her son to come to the United States.

Ms. Al Haidari has taken on multiple jobs to care for her ailing parents in her four years in the United States. She has balanced 10-hour triage shifts at a nearby emergency room while studying for a pharmacist exam, sending extra money to her brother overseas when she can.

“The only thing I want from life now is to see my brother here,” Ms. Al Haidari said.

She often spends her free time volunteering at the local resettlement offices, helping translate for newly arrived refugees. Her language skills initially made her a constant presence there.

But as Mr. Trump has shriveled the refugee program, there is hardly anyone left to help.

China Threatens to Detain Americans in Retaliation

By EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — Chinese officials have told the Trump administration that security officers in China might detain American citizens if the Justice Department proceeds with prosecutions of arrested scholars who are members of the Chinese military, American officials said.

The Chinese officials conveyed the messages starting this summer, when the Justice Department intensified efforts to arrest and charge the scholars, mainly with providing false information on their visa applications, the American officials said. U.S. law enforcement officials say at least five Chinese scholars who have been arrested in recent months did not disclose their military affiliations on visa applications and might have been trying to conduct industrial espionage in research centers.

American officials said they thought the Chinese officials were serious about the threats. The State Department has reiterated travel warnings as a result, they said. Western officials and human rights advocates have said for years that the Chinese police and other security agencies engage in arbitrary detentions.

The threats are another striking escalation in tensions between the United States and China, which have been rising for years and have surged sharply since the coronavirus pandemic began in central China last winter.

Katie Benner and Eric Schmitt contributed reporting.

But some analysts in Washington and Beijing say the Chinese government is trying to avoid any serious provocations against the United States before the elections in November. And some Chinese officials are aiming to cool the temperature of U.S.-China relations, whether President Trump wins another term or Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic challenger and former vice president, takes over in the White House.

A Justice Department spokesman declined to comment on whether Chinese officials had delivered warnings about plans to detain American citizens to retaliate for prosecutions of Chinese scholars. The threats were reported earlier by The Wall Street Journal.

“We are aware that the Chinese government has, in other instances, detained American, Canadian and other individuals without legal basis to retaliate against lawful prosecutions and to exert pressure on their governments, with a callous disregard of the individuals involved,” John C. Demers, the head of the Justice Department’s national security division, said in a statement. “If China wants to be seen as one of the world’s leading nations, it should respect the rule of law and stop taking hostages.”

On Sunday, Hu Xijin, the chief editor of Global Times, a nationalistic newspaper linked to the Chinese Communist Party, wrote on Twitter that the detentions in the United States of Chinese scholars on spying charges were “not good” for the “safety of some US nationals in China.”



Western officials and rights advocates have said the Chinese police engage in arbitrary detentions.

“Does Washington need to be warned?” he wrote. “It’s common sense. In my view, hegemony has turned some US elites stupid, or they’re pretending to be stupid.”

In recent years, the Justice Department has scrutinized the work of Chinese researchers at American universities and other scientific institutions. U.S. officials have also criticized programs run by the Chinese government to recruit scientific and technical experts. Mr. Demers and other U.S. officials have long said that Beijing uses a wide range of tools to gather intelligence at American research centers.

The Trump administration announced in late May that it was

barring Chinese students at the graduate level or higher who had ties to some military institutions from entering the United States.

In late July, the State Department ordered China to close its consulate in Houston, saying it was a center of research theft in the United States. Justice Department officials said that Chinese officials in other missions also took part in industrial and scientific espionage, and that the closure was meant to deter Beijing from continuing the actions. At that time, the U.S. authorities were also seeking to arrest a Chinese student or researcher, Tang Juan, who had gone into hiding in the San Francisco consulate after be-

ing questioned by the F.B.I.

The F.B.I. arrested Ms. Tang on July 23 and accused her of hiding her military affiliation. She has pleaded not guilty to charges of visa fraud and making false statements.

The Chinese government has denied accusations that members of its military are in the United States for scientific and industrial espionage.

State Department representatives declined to discuss any recent threats of detentions of Americans made by Chinese officials. But for months, department officials have been stressing harsh actions taken by Chinese

Officials have warned the United States not to prosecute Chinese scholars in U.S.

security agencies against Americans. On Sept. 14, the department updated travel advisories for mainland China and Hong Kong, saying that Americans should “reconsider travel” because of Covid-19 and risk arising from “arbitrary enforcement of local laws.”

In June, Chinese officials charged two Canadians — Michael Kovrig, a former diplomat, and Michael Spavor, a businessman — with espionage. Security officers had detained the two men 18 months earlier. Canadian and American officials widely believe the men are being held because of a Justice Department case against Meng Wanzhou, a top executive of the Chinese technology company Huawei, who was arrested in Canada in December 2018 and might be extradited to the United States.

Last year, Chinese security officers prevented a Koch Industries executive from leaving China for some days. And in a hotel lobby in Beijing, officers tried to take a former U.S. diplomat away for questioning. He was in China to attend a forum on artificial intelligence that he had helped organize. The American Embassy in Beijing intervened, and the Chinese officers backed off.

The State Department has also denounced the practice by Chinese officials of “exit bans,” or refusing to allow foreign citizens to leave the country, often as a means of coercion in legal or business disputes.



Stepanakert, a city in Nagorno-Karabakh, took direct fire on Friday. Dozens of civilians and hundreds of soldiers have died in the fighting. A cease-fire declared on Saturday failed to take hold.

Resignation Fuels Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict

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by volunteers and conscripts, have slowed the Azerbaijani advance.

In some parts of the front, the Armenians have dug new trenches, and killed large numbers of Azerbaijani soldiers attempting to advance on foot, according to Armenian accounts.

Azerbaijan, an oil and gas hub on the Caspian Sea, has deployed superior firepower, using advanced drones and artillery systems it buys from Israel, Turkey and Russia. But three weeks into the conflict, Azerbaijan has failed to convert that advantage into broad territorial gains, indicating that a long and punishing war looms. It could morph into a wider crisis, pitting Azerbaijan's main partner, Turkey, a NATO ally, against Russia, which has a mutual defense alliance with Armenia.

On Saturday, Armenia and Azerbaijan announced they had negotiated a truce, mediated by France, to allow bodies to be collected and prisoners to be exchanged. But as with a Russian-brokered cease-fire reached a week earlier, the fighting has continued, with each side accusing the other on Sunday of violating the truce.

"Their war effort against the Armenians is principally an attrition fight," Michael Kofman, a military analyst at CNA, a nonprofit research and analysis organization in Arlington, Va., said of Azerbaijan's campaign. "It's not really well organized with a clear theory of victory."

Outgunned, Armenia has thrown conscripts and volunteers into the battle. Some of the latter are veterans of the 1990s war, like Artur Aleksanyan, a retired special forces colonel who said he was in a hospital recovering from surgery when the current conflict began. He said he now leads a volunteer unit in the trenches to the north, battling to halt the Azerbaijani advance.

It has been 15 years since he last wielded a weapon, Mr. Aleksanyan said Saturday in an interview in Stepanakert, where he was picking up a bag full of radio equipment before driving back to the front. He lifted his uniform to show the bandages around his belly which he has to change eight times a day and rapped his knuckles against his artificial kneecap, a reminder of his last war.



A clergyman blessing volunteer soldiers at a military base in Stepanakert. "We tell them that this is a holy war, and we are prepared to sacrifice our lives for each other," one deacon said.

But this conflict is nothing like the 1990s, Mr. Aleksanyan said. Then, the Kalashnikov rifle was the principal weapon. This time, there are few exchanges of small-arms fire. Of his unit's 17 days at the front, he said, 15 days were spent in the trenches, taking cover from artillery barrages that came as frequently as every 20 minutes. There they are surrounded by craters where Azerbaijan has been systematically destroying Armenian tanks and other equipment, using modern "suicide drones" that loiter over a battlefield before diving down to an opportune target.

"They're so fast that we can't manage to hunt them down," Mr. Aleksanyan said. "I won't say that we are not afraid. We are all afraid."

Mr. Aleksanyan and other Armenian fighters said that despite Azerbaijan's fearsome firepower, its foot soldiers proved easy targets when they tried to advance. Their bodies had not been collected, Mr. Aleksanyan said, and filled the battlefield with a putrid stench.

"You knock down one guy, and they don't run away," said a soldier back from the front, Tigran Saakyan, dressed in a brown-and-tan knit sweater under his military jacket. "You knock down a second guy, you knock down a third guy, and they keep coming anyway — coming like robots."

At a military base in Stepanakert, Mr. Saakyan and his comrades, some of them in their 50s, were waiting to be blessed by military clergy. Narek Petrosyan, a

deacon in the Armenian Apostolic Church, said that when soldiers' relatives call him asking for word from the front, he tries to give them hope, even if he knows that their loved ones have died. A separate group of clergy is charged with delivering that news.

"We tell them that this is a holy war, and we are prepared to sacrifice our lives for each other," he said.

More than 700 Armenian soldiers have already been killed, along with scores of civilians on both sides.

Azerbaijan has not been disclosing its military death toll. But the government said Saturday that 14 civilians were killed in Ganja, Azerbaijan's second-largest city, in an overnight missile attack by Armenia.

Officials say that more than half the people of Nagorno-Karabakh have fled their homes, though the martial law currently in effect bars men of military age from leaving the territory. Those who stayed behind include women who want to be close to their husbands, sons and fathers sent to the front lines. The coronavirus is far down the list of people's worries, even though international aid organizations warn that cramped bomb shelters are spreading infection.

Alyona Shakhramanyan, 33, and her neighbors from the fifth floor of an apart-

An old ethnic struggle is reignited, bursting into a war of attrition.

ment building in Shusha, the hilltop town, moved three weeks ago into a section of their dirt-floor basement. They fashioned a door out of a sheet of corrugated plastic and taped cardboard over the openings in the concrete walls. One of the women is sick — a cold, they say, that she caught because of the drafty air.

Ms. Shakhramanyan's brother, who, like her husband, is at the front, has not been answering his phone. When she went outside to do laundry the previous day, she was frightened by the buzz of a drone. Rocket artillery has hit the nearby Holy Savior Cathedral twice this month, and the paving stones outside it were still stained with the blood of a Russian journalist critically injured in the second strike.

"No one helps us here," Ms. Shakhramanyan said. "We are on our own."

At the military cemetery in Stepanakert, the resting place of fighters who died in the 1990s, the authorities removed a retaining wall and dug into a hillside to make way for the new casualties. Amid the artificial-flower wreaths and simple grave sites on the freshly graded, rocky dirt, a man whose brother was gone spread his arms in grief.

"These are fresh — our guys," he cried, his voice trailing off. "What is there to say?"



Above left, women lighting candles at a Stepanakert church hit by shelling this month; above right, the city's military cemetery, where fresh graves join those from the last war in the 1990s.

Bolivian Election Is Seen as Referendum on an Ousted Socialist Leader

By JULIE TURKEWITZ

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Adalid Zelada fully supported Evo Morales when Bolivia chose him as the country’s first Indigenous president in 2005.

The way many saw it, large numbers of Bolivians were painfully poor, society was deeply unequal and power was overwhelmingly concentrated among the white elite. Mr. Morales, a socialist and former llama herder, spoke of equality, ending discrimination and recovering the nation’s resources from foreign hands.

“They were very good ideas,” said Mr. Zelada, 47. “But over time, it all became an authoritarian strategy to co-opt power. And those good ideas became just words.”

As Bolivians went to the polls on Sunday to choose a new president, the election was widely viewed as a referendum on the 14-year political project of Mr. Morales, a towering figure in Bolivian politics who lifted hundreds of thousands out of poverty but whose policies and rhetoric often divided the country.

In recent years, even supporters began to abandon him amid allegations of misuse of funds, abuse of power and, more recently, a sexual relationship with a minor.

He fled Bolivia last year after his attempt to win a fourth term ended in a contested election and deadly protests. Mr. Morales called it a coup. Others accused his government of trying to rig the vote.

Voting in Bolivia is mandatory, and on Sunday lines began to form outside schools converted into precincts even before polling places opened at 8 a.m. Soon, patios filled with voters, who entered classrooms one by one to fill out paper ballots, then dropped their votes in cardboard boxes, to be counted by hand later that night.

Many called the moment a critical one, and said they had arrived despite fears of the coronavirus. “This is going to define our country’s destiny,” said Enrique Huanca, 58.

Sunday was a redo of last year’s election, and came at a time of deep polarization, at a level notable even for a country accustomed to division and unrest. In the weeks leading up the election, the United Nations documented at least 41 acts of political violence.

In the streets of La Paz, the administrative capital, there is little agreement about whether there was electoral fraud last year. And Mr. Morales’s party, the

María Silvia Trigo contributed reporting from Tarija, Bolivia.



A polling site in Achocalla, Bolivia, on Sunday. The 14-year political project of the former President Evo Morales looms large in the vote.



Military police in La Paz, the Bolivian capital, on Saturday, left. When the result of Sunday’s election is announced, much of the country is likely to be angry, observers say, and violence is a real possibility. Finding out where to vote in Achocalla, right.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Movimiento al Socialismo, or MAS, is casting doubt on the voting system, warning supporters of almost certain “electoral fraud” and a process stacked against them.

A recent poll by the nongovernmental organization Fundación Jubileo found that just 40 percent of Bolivians trust the country’s electoral body, despite major efforts to overhaul it since last year.

It could take days for results to come in.

And when the count is announced, large swaths of the country are likely to be angry, political observers say, and violence is a real possibility.

The vote is largely a choice between Mr. Morales’ handpicked successor, his former economics minister, Luis Arce, and Carlos Mesa, a centrist former president.

Mr. Arce’s appeal to voters is that he can continue the socialist movement his predecessor started — while being very different from Mr. Morales.

In the back of his campaign car just before the election, he called Mr. Morales’s decision to run for a fourth term “an error,” insisted that he would run for only a single term and said he considered himself a transitional candidate.

“I have no interest in power,” he said. “I want to move the country forward, leave it in the hands of young people, and I’ll go.”

Mr. Morales, he added, would have no part in his government. “We see him as a historical figure.”

Mr. Mesa is running as the anti-Morales candidate, promising a return to peace after years of political and social division.

Norway Provides Asylum For an Antiracism Activist

This article is by *Elían Peltier, Monika Pronczuk and Henrik Pryser Libell*.

The antiracism activist fled on New Year’s Eve in 2018 with his wife and toddler, seeking refuge in Norway, which has long welcomed political refugees from desperate corners of the world.

But the activist, Rafal Gawel, wasn’t escaping a war-torn country. He was fleeing Poland, a member of the democratic and peaceful European Union. Although his initial request for asylum in Norway was rejected, last month an appeals board there granted his request.

It was a dramatic chain of events that underscored concerns elsewhere in Europe that Poland’s democracy — once regarded as a great success story of the post-Soviet era — has regressed under the right-wing coalition that has ruled the country for the past five years.

While Mr. Gawel’s case is complicated, the asylum decision reflected worries about political influence in the Polish judicial system. Norway’s immigration service said that it had granted him asylum on the grounds that he faced political persecution in Poland, a rare instance of a country in Europe offering such protection to a citizen of the European Union. Norway is not a member of the bloc, but maintains close relations with it.

A controversial and well-known artist and human rights activist in Poland, Mr. Gawel, 47, is a complicated figure at the center of an international tussle over democratic rights. He has had legal troubles in Poland, fleeing the country just before being sentenced to prison for two years for fraud and misappropriation of funds.

He says, without providing any evidence, that the charges that were brought against him were an effort by Poland’s government to rein him in and that the trial was rigged.

The Polish government has noted that the fraud charges were

brought against him under a previous, more centrist administration in 2013. And a nonprofit group in Poland funded by the financier George Soros has accused Mr. Gawel of mismanaging funds that it allocated to his organization, the Center for Monitoring Racist and Xenophobic Behavior. Those charges were used in the court case against him.

Mr. Gawel said that Poland’s government had targeted him over his work documenting a growing number of hate crimes in the country, and that it had ordered far-right militants to physically harm him. “The decision to grant me asylum saved my life,” he said in an interview.

The Norwegian appeals board that reviewed and approved Mr. Gawel’s asylum application concluded that the purpose of the court case was to curtail his activities, and that he might be in danger if he returned to Poland.

It found that Mr. Gawel risked “political persecution from government officials, under the cover and appearance of a criminal case where the purpose has been to limit his freedom of speech and activity by imprisoning him, and possibly also discrediting him.” The conclusion, which was not made public by Norway, was read out to The New York Times by Lukasz Niedzielski, Mr. Gawel’s lawyer.

Gunnar Ekelove-Slydal, the acting secretary general at the Oslo-based Norwegian Helsinki Committee, a human rights organization, said Norway’s decision was a clear sign of mounting concerns in Europe over democratic backsliding in Poland.

“The trust toward the Polish judiciary among European states is falling apart,” he said.

But Poland’s deputy minister of foreign affairs, Pawel Jablonski, said in an interview that Mr. Gawel’s conviction was based on the criminal charges that he faced. “He was convicted by two courts,” the minister said. “We suspect that they might have been manipulated by his words,” he added, referring to Norway’s immigration services.

Poland has in recent years been at loggerheads with its partners in Europe over concerns that its democracy is being undermined by



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CZAREK SOKOLOWSKI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Rafal Gawel, a Polish artist and activist, has been accused of fraud and mismanagement of funds.



A far-right rally in Warsaw in August. Human rights experts have expressed concern about democratic backsliding in Poland.

the right-wing coalition led by the Law and Justice Party that took power in 2015. The government has actively worked to limit freedom of speech and L.G.B.T.Q. rights — and has also weakened judicial independence, assuming greater controls over the prosecutor’s office and judges.

“The ruling Law and Justice government has used the past five years to put the judiciary under its control, raising serious concerns about the independence of courts, judges and prosecutors,” said Lydia Gall, a senior researcher on Eastern Europe at Human Rights

Watch.

The European Union has imposed modest sanctions on Poland, and several of the bloc’s members have also taken individual actions in response. Earlier this year, Germany and the Netherlands refused to extradite Polish citizens who were under European arrest warrants to Poland over fears that they would not receive fair trials.

Human rights experts said that Mr. Gawel’s case was significant given how rarely E.U. citizens are granted asylum in other European countries. Of the tens of

thousands of people to be granted asylum by Norway in the past decade, only 18 have been E.U. citizens, according to the country’s immigration statistics. One Pole was given asylum last year, according to official statistics, but the human rights experts said they were not aware of that case. Norway usually does not provide details about specific asylum cases.

Jakub Godzimirski, an expert on Polish-Norwegian relations at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, said that some Poles applied for asylum after the end of Communist rule in Poland in the early 1990s, but that most were refused.

“The threshold to get asylum from a European Union country in Norway is quite high,” he said.

In the interview, Mr. Gawel said that he had left Poland by car even though his passport had been confiscated, and that the consular staff of a European country that he declined to identify had helped him and his family arrive in Norway.

Mr. Gawel said that he and his wife, Karolina Krupa, got married just days before fleeing. “We picked up the marriage certificate in the morning, just before leaving, and then got our car checked by wiretap and GPS experts,” he said. “We felt like refugees, and we were refugees.”

Norway initially rejected his

Mr. Morales’s wrongdoings, he added, had been papered over by journalists and left-wing politicians “who have a fascination with the fact that he was the first Indigenous president.”

“We are the only political force in this country with the ability to begin reconciliation, heal the wounds and construct a space of unity,” he said.

A third candidate, Luis Fernando Camacho, threatens to split the conservative vote, pushing Mr. Arce and Mr. Mesa to a potential runoff.

In the streets of La Paz last week, much of the conversation was not about Mr. Arce, Mr. Mesa or Mr. Camacho — but about the legacy Mr. Morales leaves behind.

During Mr. Morales’s time in office, he promised to lift many living on the margins, and in some places fulfilled that promise, building schools, hospitals and roads. The country’s poverty rate fell to 35 percent of the population from 60 percent, according to World Bank figures.

But Mr. Zelada, the disillusioned Morales supporter, said he ultimately felt that the former president wasted his chance to truly transform the country. Mr. Morales ran Bolivia amid a commodities boom — with money pouring into the country — and his party controlled congress for all 14 years of his presidency.

The president could have done so much more, Mr. Zelada said. He plans to vote for Mr. Mesa.

In the city of El Alto, a MAS stronghold perched above the capital, there were plenty of people who said they were voting for Mr. Arce, and said they remained faithful to Mr. Morales. “He governed well,” said Luisa Álvarez, 40.

But at one precinct, Miguelina Sanabria, 59, sat in a wooden chair on the second floor, explaining how she had gone from longtime MAS supporter to Mesa voter. She grew up in Chapare, the jungle region of Bolivia where Mr. Morales got his political start, and appreciated that he was from the countryside, that he had tried to help women like her.

In his third term, though, she began to turn against him when, she said, he seemed unwilling to give up power. This year, she’s jobless and angry, and looking for something new.

“He just kept going,” she said of Morales. “He didn’t leave space for younger leaders. He wanted to run everything.”

She raised her voice. It seemed she wanted voters around her to hear. “I decided to switch to Mesa,” she went on. “I hope he doesn’t let me down, too.”

E.U. citizens are rarely given refuge in other European countries.

asylum request, but he appealed the decision and was granted refugee status on Sept. 30.

In the interview, Mr. Gawel denied any wrongdoing and said that he had presented the Norwegian immigration authorities with documents which proved his innocence.

“I was targeted because my organization exposed ties between local authorities, government figures and far-right groups,” he said, adding that his group had lodged over 400 complaints about hate crimes committed in Poland this year.

Mr. Gawel had also been at odds with a nonprofit group operating in Poland. Ewa Kulik-Bielinska, the head of the Stefan Batory Foundation, an independent foundation established by Mr. Soros, said Mr. Gawel had misused the equivalent of \$20,000 of subsidies that it awarded him.

Mr. Morales attributed the incident to a difference with the foundation over the correct procedures for handling money.

The judge who sentenced him in 2019 said in her ruling that Mr. Gawel had used loans and donations for his own aims. “Disposing of public money requires transparency and honesty,” said the judge, Alina Kaminska, according to Polish news reports.

Mr. Gawel declined to show the documents that granted him asylum when asked by The Times. The Norwegian Immigration Appeals Board confirmed that he had been granted asylum, but declined to comment on the specifics.

Mr. Niedzielski, his lawyer, said he hoped Norway’s decision would be “a game changer” in how European countries deal with Poland, although experts said it was unlikely to push the Polish government to change course.

But, said Mr. Ekelove-Slydal, from the Norwegian Helsinki Committee, “if such decisions are followed by concrete consequences, on economic cooperation or investments, then it could trigger new reflections on the courts in Poland.”

“Trust in Poland’s judiciary has been undermined,” he said, “which means that a fundamental pillar of European cooperation is threatened.”



DAVID GOLDMAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The State Department chided the International Criminal Court for investigating potential war crimes by U.S. forces in Afghanistan.

Allies Balk at U.S. Sanctions on Rights Lawyer

By PRANSHU VERMA

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Mike Pompeo came to the State Department briefing room ready to punish.

On Sept. 2, he took to the lectern and called the International Criminal Court — which investigates war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide — a “thoroughly broken and corrupted institution.” Then he announced sanctions on the tribunal’s chief prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, and a colleague, trying to stop their inquiry into potential war crimes by American forces in Afghanistan.

His measure enraged European allies, human rights activists and even some retired American generals. Many were angry that the Trump administration aimed economic penalties meant for warlords, dictators and authoritarian governments at a human rights lawyer.

“It definitely is quite unprecedented,” Ms. Bensouda said in an interview. “These are the kind of sanctions that we normally reserve to be used as a mechanism to target narcotic traffickers, notorious terrorists and the like. But not professional lawyers, not prosecutors, not investigators, not judges or others who are working tirelessly to prevent atrocity crimes.”

The Trump administration has said that since the United States is not a member of the Hague-based international court, Ms. Bensouda does not have the authority to look into American activities abroad. Mr. Pompeo has denounced its inquiries as “illegitimate attempts to subject Americans to its jurisdiction.” The court’s appeals chamber has issued a ruling disputing that.

Many diplomats and experts on sanctions policy also said Mr. Trump’s use of such punishment against the I.C.C. not only weakened the country’s moral standing, but also detailed a troubling trend: The Trump administration has transformed economic sanctions, one of the government’s most effective foreign policy tools, in ways that have alienated close allies.

“It’s atrocious,” said Daniel Fried, the State Department’s coordinator for sanctions policy in the Obama administration. “It creates the reality, not just the impression, of the United States as a unilateralist bully with contempt for international law and norms.”

Immediately after Mr. Pompeo’s announcement, Ms. Bensouda said she learned that her bank account at the United Nations Federal Credit Union had been frozen. Her relatives also found their assets temporarily blocked, she added, even though they were not targets of the action.

The type of punishment levied on Ms. Bensouda forces financial institutions to block a person’s assets in the United States and prohibits American companies or individuals in the United States from doing business with that person.

Ms. Bensouda became the subject of sanctions because of her investigation of potential war crimes committed by American troops and intelligence officials in Afghanistan — although the case largely focuses on whether Afghan forces and the Taliban carried out any crimes. She also drew ire for wanting to investigate alleged Israeli war crimes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Mr. Pompeo has called her Afghan investigation an attack on American sovereignty. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel has described her examination of Israeli actions as “pure

Marlise Simons contributed reporting from Paris.



ILVY NJOKIKTJEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“This will not deter us,” Fatou Bensouda, the court’s chief prosecutor, said of economic sanctions imposed on her and a colleague. “This will not stop us. We will continue to do our work.”

anti-Semitism,” even though she said she intended to also examine Palestinian wrongdoing. Israel, like the United States, is not a member of the I.C.C.

Ms. Bensouda said such criticism was “certainly politically motivated.” She said that her work was allowed under the court’s founding treaty, and that she was not trampling on the sovereignty of the United States or Israel. Afghanistan is a member of the court. In 2015, the Palestinian Authority accepted the court’s jurisdiction. (The prosecutor is responsible for investigating and prosecuting alleged war crimes and atrocity crimes in a member country when no other national authority is willing or able to do this credibly, the treaty states.)

“We are a court of law, we do not do politics,” she said. “We have no agenda other than to honorably fulfill our mandate.”

The American sanctions on the I.C.C. prompted swift condemnation at home and abroad. Critics demanded that Mr. Pompeo explain his unsubstantiated charge of corruption. The European Union’s top diplomat called the action “unacceptable and unprecedented.” The German foreign minister said the sanctions were a “serious mistake.”

Washington has had tense relations with the court, and tried to undermine and block it since it opened in 2002. The Obama administration began to cooperate quietly in some cases. Yet despite dismissing the court in the past, the United States had never gone this far.

American sanctions have grown in popularity since 2001. Presidents of both political parties have found them useful in achieving foreign policy objectives without committing American troops to battle.

As of October, Mr. Trump has imposed over 3,700 sanctions on foreign governments, central banks, authoritarian governments and malign actors, according to experts at the law firm Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher. By comparison, President Barack Obama authorized slightly over 2,000 during his first term. President George W. Bush approved over 1,800 from 2001 to 2004, the law firm found.

But Mr. Trump’s sanctions

strategy has achieved little success, critics said. Economic penalties against Iran have brought the country no closer to negotiating an end to its nuclear program. President Bashar al-Assad of Syria and President Nicolás Maduro of Venezuela remain firmly in power, despite the administration’s attempts to use sanctions to topple them.

Asked if the sanctions will deter her from looking further into American and Israeli actions, Ms. Bensouda said: “Bluntly, no. This will not deter us. This will not stop us. We will continue to do our work.”

Julia Friedlander, a sanctions official at the Treasury Department who left in June, said the unilateral actions undertaken by the Trump administration upset allies, who believe, “You don’t really care what we think about this, do you? You don’t care what the impact is going to be in our economy.” She added, “They’re completely, politically anathema to what our allies would do.”

The idea to penalize Ms. Bensouda started with John R. Bolton, the former national security adviser, who has criticized the court since its inception. In 2018, he threatened sanctions against it, saying that Ms. Bensouda’s investigation into potential United States and Israeli war crimes was an “unjust prosecution” and that he wished to “let the I.C.C. die on its own.”

Though Mr. Bolton left the Trump administration in 2019, the idea to punish the court remained. That same year, Ms. Bensouda was barred from traveling to the United States except when on business with the United Nations.

This June, Mr. Trump signed an executive order authorizing sanctions on individuals employed by the International Criminal Court. In September, Ms. Bensouda and her colleague Phakiso Mochoko were named.

Beyond the sanctions on the tribunal, the Trump administration’s use of such penalties has caused unintended blowbacks, no more evident than in its strategy toward Iran.

Renewed American sanctions on Tehran have driven Iran and China closer together. In July, The New York Times reported that the countries are negotiating an economic and military partnership

that would defy U.S. sanctions and expand China’s telecommunications, banking and infrastructure presence in the region. China would receive a regular and discounted supply of oil for the next 25 years.

Unilateral sanctions on Iran have stirred such anger that European allies have created a financial mechanism that would allow goods to be traded between Iranian and foreign companies without using the dollar. The European company, Instex, is nascent, but in March a German exporter shipped over 500,000 euros, or about \$586,000, in medical supplies to Iran using this system, paving a way for future transactions that could flout American sanctions and mean greater pain for the American financial system.

“Right now, the U.S. banking system is supreme because a lot of transactions route through U.S. dollars and route through New York,” said Richard Nephew, a senior research scholar at Columbia University. “We’re in the billions of lost economic value to the U.S. that potentially go away if you have people go to an alternative system that doesn’t involve us as much.”

Human rights scholars acknowledge that the Trump administration has done well in targeting a number of human rights abusers through economic sanctions.

In 2017, Mr. Trump issued an executive order expanding the authority of the Global Magnitsky Act, passed in 2016, which allows asset freezes and travel bans on human rights abusers. To date during the Trump administration, the government has penalized 214 individuals or entities from 27 countries for human rights atrocities using the act, targeting places like China, Myanmar, Nicaragua and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Human Rights First, an advocacy group, found.

Still, there are glaring omissions. Although the Trump administration imposed sanctions on 17 individuals involved in the premeditated killing of the Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia was spared, although U.S. intelligence agencies had concluded that he was likely involved.

Despite the sanctions, Ms. Bensouda’s investigations have not stopped. In March, Ms. Bensouda received approval from the court’s appeals judges to proceed with her inquiry in Afghanistan. Since then, she has accepted a request from government officials there to show, for now, that they can render justice and prosecute potential war criminals on their own. If she is not satisfied with their action, she said she could move forward with her inquiry.

As for the Israeli investigation, she said the conditions to investigate war crimes in Palestinian areas had been met. She is awaiting a ruling from the court’s judges on whether war crimes in the Palestinian areas she wants to investigate are under her territorial jurisdiction.

Even American military leaders have said the Trump administration’s decision to wage war on international institutions like the International Criminal Court will do harm, not just to future sanctions campaigns, but also to the United States’ standing.

“It’s very dangerous, and it weakens the United States to disrespect international institutions that are promoting law and order,” said Wesley Clark, the retired four-star Army general and former NATO commander. “It puts us on the same plane as Russia, China, Iran and North Korea. It’s not where we want to be.”

Taliban Claims to Defeat Revered Female Warlord, Seizing Propaganda Win

This article is by Mujib Mashal, Najim Rahim and Fatima Faizi.

KABUL, Afghanistan — In a long conflict waged by men, she’s been a rare female warlord, defending her fief in northern Afghanistan against the Taliban, her own relatives and even against the American-backed central government she allied with.

As she grew into her 70s, ailing and bedridden with bad knees, the warlord, Bibi Ayesha, took pride in having an undefeated record in decades of war. She is popularly known by a nom de guerre: Commander Kaftar, which means “pigeon” in Farsi, “because she moved and killed with the elegance of a bird,” as one profile put it.

On Thursday, the Taliban declared the end of her high-flying days: Commander Kaftar, along with her men, had surrendered to them, they said in a statement.

“The officials of our Invite and Guidance Commission welcomed them,” the statement said.

Local officials in restive Baghlan Province, where she is based, and her relatives confirmed the commander’s surrender and said it was an act of survival. Her valley was so surrounded, with other neighboring militias already switching sides to the Taliban, that she had no choice.

Mohammad Hanif Kohgadai, a member of Baghlan provincial council representing Commander Kaftar’s district, said she had reached a deal through a Taliban commander related to her family.

“The Taliban spent the night at Commander Kaftar’s house, they ate there,” Mr. Kohgadai said in an interview on Friday. “Today, they left the house and took with them 13 weapons and other military gear.”

One of Commander Kaftar’s sons played down the episode, saying it was more a truce than a surrender.

“It is just a rumor. My mother is sick,” said Raz Mohammad, one of her three remaining sons. (Three others were killed in years of fighting.) “She hasn’t joined the Taliban. We don’t fight the Taliban anymore; we have weapons to protect ourselves from our enemies.”

Commander Kaftar’s surrender brings little to the Taliban militarily but is another propaganda victory against the struggling Afghan government, suggesting that in a bloody, stalemated war some were switching sides to the insurgents. The Taliban have increasingly reached out to those disenchanted with the Afghan government as the country’s military struggles amid the continuing American withdrawal.

For a group that kept women confined to their homes when they were in power in the 1990s, a Taliban alliance with a female commander could prove tricky. The Taliban have yet to provide any detailed positions in continuing peace talks on the role of women in a future government. But what makes Commander Kaftar’s shift easier is that she commands hundreds of men in a deeply conservative and misogynistic society.

The surrender exposes a larger vulnerability of the Afghan government: Its defenses are partly reliant on thousands of unreliable militias with track records of abuse and local feuding, and a history of switching sides.

President Ashraf Ghani has sent mixed signals about the militias over the years.

When Mr. Ghani came to office in late 2014, he tried aggressively to dismantle the militias. Encountering the president’s wrath, militia commanders simply refused to fight the Taliban, opening the way for the insurgents to march on

Kunduz City.

In recent years, as the Afghan Army and the police have been stretched thin against Taliban offensives, Mr. Ghani has accepted the militias as a reality. Over the summer, the Afghan president spoke publicly about “investing more” in some militias as a line of defense.

Commander Kaftar’s experience speaks to the complicated reality upon which the American-bankrolled democracy has been built — on the legacy of a previous invasion and years of anarchy and warlord rule.

Her reputation began to grow with the killing of Soviet commandos who had swarmed her valley during an invasion starting in 1979. She hasn’t put down arms since, raising a militia that protected her valley as her little kingdom. Even when the Taliban swept through most of Afghanistan in the 1990s, she fended them off.

She has often recounted how she taunted the Taliban commander for her province with a lose-lose offer: If she arrested him, she would parade him around town on a donkey and people would laugh at him for being defeated by a woman. And if he arrested her? The town would scold the Taliban commander for arresting a woman.

After the United States invasion in 2001, the new Afghan government moved to disarm militias like hers. She and many other militia commanders resisted. Asked about the government wanting to disarm her, she said, “If they come, you will see what I will do to the government.”

Even in Kabul she was celebrated as an anti-Taliban hero and inspiration for women, with the

A deal described as a surrender by some and a truce by others.

country’s former human rights chief attending a celebration of her hosted by Afghanistan’s vice president.

“This war won’t end in peace — only God, or this beautiful Kalashnikov can solve it,” she once said in an interview, the weapon on her lap. “The Taliban are not capable of change or reform.”

But even as media reports list 20 of her family members lost in the war with the Taliban, much of her fight in recent years has involved spiraling family feuds.

Some of those disputes, including a fight with one of her sisters, have dragged on over two decades with many dead on each side. In another prolonged feud, she chased a relative out of the valley after deaths on both sides, only for the man to return years later as a commander of the Taliban that she has now surrendered to.

The news of Commander Kaftar’s fate raised questions of whether it was the result of a truce between two families, or as it was publicly portrayed: the surrender of a militia commander to a Taliban leader. In large parts of Afghanistan, with the lines of war increasingly blurred, the two are the same.

“Commander Pigeon was an old decrepit warlord, a broken-down woman,” the writer Jennifer Percy wrote in a 2014 profile in The New Republic. “Lonely, she survived on attention, on her ability to inspire fear through the power of her own myth. In Afghanistan, the ability to create a mythology is powerful, maybe even more powerful than military prowess.”



MOHAMMAD ATIF ARYAN

Bibi Ayesha took up arms in 1979 and has ruled a northern Afghanistan valley ever since, fending off the Taliban several times.

National

The New York Times



JIM URQUHART/REUTERS

The Cameron Peak fire, which has been burning since August, is now the largest wildfire in Colorado history, consuming more than 220,000 acres. The snow that usually falls in October hasn't arrived.

Colorado's Fire Season Rages When It Should Be Over

By CHARLIE BRENNAN
and RICK ROJAS

BOULDER, Colo. — She was driving back to her home in the Colorado mountains on Saturday when she saw the ominous plume swirling into the sky. In an instant, Jyoti Sharp's mind went back to 2013, the last time she had been forced out by nature.

Her home had been destroyed, as was much of Jamestown, the 280-person community where she lives. Then, the town had been wiped out by Colorado's worst flood in a generation. This time, it was a swiftly growing wildfire at the end of a long and brutal season that had her packing to leave the house she had rebuilt and moved into just four months earlier.

"My heart was beating fast," Ms. Sharp, 64, said of how she felt on Saturday as she recalled fleeing the flood with a single suitcase she happened to have packed for her son's wedding. "My breathing was shallow. I had to keep reminding myself to breathe."

The fire started on Saturday in the woodlands near Jamestown, a late arrival in a season that would normally be nearing its end but still rages in Colorado, straining firefighting resources to their limit and signaling for scientists another devastating consequence of rising temperatures in a changing climate.

Already, firefighters are battling to contain the Cameron Peak fire, which has burned since August and grown into the largest fire recorded in Colorado history. On Sunday, it eclipsed 200,000 acres. And the latest fire spread rapidly, engulfing more than 8,000 acres by Sunday.

"It just exploded," Mike Wagner, division chief for the Boulder County Sheriff's Department, said in a briefing late Saturday. "It's been so dry and just such high fire danger combined with lack of firefighting resources because of the number of fires not only in Colorado but across the West."

Millions of acres have been scorched by wildfires in Western states this year, burning homes and businesses as they invaded communities and killed people who were unable to escape the flames. The fires have also showered ash upon communities beyond their direct path and cast a haze that darkened skies across the region.

In California, lightning storms ignited hundreds of blazes, some of which grew into the largest in modern state history. More than 8,500 wildfires have burned over 4.1 million acres in California, state fire officials said, killing at least 31 people. More than a million acres also burned in Oregon and Washington.

Dry conditions have also stoked what has become one of the worst years for wildfires in Colorado. More than 430,000 acres have burned so far this year, said Brian Buma, an ecology professor at the University of Colorado Denver.

Scientists say that wildfires have become hotter, more intense and more de-



JIM URQUHART/REUTERS

Dry conditions and powerful gusts of winds, some reaching roughly 70 miles per hour, have created a dangerous recipe for the rapid spread of wildfires in Colorado. Smoke from the Cameron Peak fire as seen from Estes Park, left, and firefighters battling the blaze on Storm Mountain in Larimer County last week.



/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

structive in recent years. In Colorado, the threat has also intensified as the fire season has grown longer.

Typically, the state would see the arrival of mountain snowfall by October. Instead, there has been little to no precipitation in areas where the fires have burned. "It is very unusual for wildfires to start after October," said Jennifer Balch, the director of the Earth Lab at the University of Colorado Boulder.

Scientists say that it has been an unsettling development, yet also one that has been anticipated as the region has

been in the grip of drought and as temperatures rise globally.

"This is exactly what we expect from climate change," Professor Buma said. "It's not going to get any better — that's the hard part. It's becoming more and more regular, and that time in the fall when they can breathe a sigh of relief is being pushed out further and further."

The dry conditions and powerful gusts of winds, reaching roughly 70 miles per hour, created a dangerous recipe for the rapid spread of wildfires. Thousands of people have been forced to evacuate.

The Cameron Peak fire ignited on Aug. 13 on the Arapaho and Roosevelt National Forests, northwest of Boulder. The fire traversed rugged terrain as it claimed more ground, making it difficult to contain for the more than 1,500 firefighters battling it. The fire is 62 percent contained, state fire officials said.

There was hope that a shift in the weather on Sunday could help the firefighters gain ground. "Watching the cold, calm and wet weather move in today — which was not in the forecast — I am grateful for answered prayers," Justin

Smith, the Larimer County sheriff, said in a post on Facebook on Sunday morning.

To the south, the East Troublesome fire had burned more than 12,000 acres and was just 5 percent contained by Sunday. The Williams Fork fire, which is also nearby, has burned more than 14,500 acres and is about 26 percent contained.

The fire that started on Saturday, known as the Cal-Wood fire for the name of an educational center near where it was ignited, had about 5 percent containment by Sunday afternoon, with about 250 firefighters mostly focused on protecting homes and other structures that could fall within its path.

It led to evacuations for Jamestown, which is only two miles from where the fire ignited.

The town, outside Boulder, was founded by gold miners along James Creek, perched at about 7,000 feet in the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains. These days, it has become a bucolic mountain retreat with just one storefront business on Main Street, the Jamestown Mercantile — The Merc, to its regulars — serving as a community hub and pit stop for bicyclists.

With cartons still not unpacked from her return to her home in June, Ms. Sharp found herself quickly boxing up treasured photographs, and rings that had belonged to each of her parents.

Her partner, Mark Behan, was less concerned about possessions, recalling a fire at his family's home as a child that nearly killed his brother. "It's stuff that can be replaced," he said. "Even if it's a house, it can be replaced. People can't be replaced."

Still, an enduring question that arises in times of disaster is about the sustainability of living in the mountains, where the solitude and natural splendor can give way to danger.

"That will probably be in the forefront of my mind — for a few days until the nice weather comes back," Ms. Sharp said. "It's so beautiful up there."



AARON ONTIVEROZ/THE DENVER POST, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Smoke from the Cameron Peak fire hiding the sun. State fire officials say the wildfire is still only 62 percent contained.

Charlie Brennan reported from Boulder and Rick Rojas from Atlanta.

Trump Stays Upbeat About His Strategy, but His Campaign Turns Grim

From Page A1

Trump administration for them to serve in. (It is not clear how appealing the Trump campaign might be as a résumé line for private-sector employers.)

With just over two weeks before Election Day, there is now an extraordinary gulf separating Mr. Trump's experience of the campaign from the more sobering political assessments of a number of party officials and operatives, according to interviews with nearly a dozen Republican strategists, White House allies and elected officials. Among some of Mr. Trump's lieutenants, there is an attitude of grit mixed with resignation: a sense that the best they can do for the final stretch is to keep the president occupied, happy and off Twitter as much as possible, rather than producing a major shift in strategy.

Often, their biggest obstacle is Mr. Trump himself.

Instead of delivering a focused closing message aimed at changing people's perceptions about his handling of the coronavirus, or making a case for why he can revive the economy better than Mr. Biden can, Mr. Trump is spending the remaining days on a familiar mix of personal grievances, attacks on his opponents and obfuscations. He has portrayed himself as a victim, dodged questions about his own coronavirus testing, attacked his attorney general and the F.B.I. director and equivocated on the benefits of mask-wearing.

Rather than drawing a consistent contrast with Mr. Biden on the economy, strategists say, the president's preference is to attack Mr. Biden's son Hunter over his business dealings and to hurl personal insults like "Sleepy Joe" against a candidate whose favorability ratings are much higher than Mr. Trump's.

"A lot of Republican consultants are frustrated because we want the president's campaign to be laser-focused on the economy," said David Kochel, a Republican strategist in Iowa. "Their best message is: Trump built a great economy" and Covid-19 damaged it, and Mr. Trump is a better option than Mr. Biden to restore it, he said.

"Our base loves the stuff about Hunter Biden, laptops and Mayor Giuliani," Mr. Kochel added. "But they're already voting for Trump."

Before Mr. Trump's upset win in 2016, his campaign also mixed public boasting with private anxiety about the apparent likelihood of defeat. But then, unlike now, Mr. Trump closed the race with a jackhammer message attacking Hillary Clinton as a corrupt insider and promising sweeping economic changes — an argument far clearer than what he is offering today.

Mr. Stepien and other campaign leaders, including Jason Miller, a senior strategist, have stressed to Republicans in Washington that they expect to outperform the public polls. They say their own data suggests a closer race in a number of states, including Ari-



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Republican strategist said that President Trump "appears to have doubled down on a base election strategy" in this campaign.

zona and Pennsylvania, than surveys conducted by news organizations. They are wagering that voter registration and the turnout machinery Mr. Trump's team has built over the past four years will ultimately give them an edge in narrowly divided states on Election Day.

Still, some prominent Republicans have noted in newly direct language the possibility — and even the likelihood — of defeat for the president. Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, a close ally, said this week that Democrats had "a good chance of winning the White House," while Senator Ben Sasse of Nebraska said his party might be facing a "blood bath."

Though fear of retaliation by Mr. Trump has muzzled most members of the party, strategists are deeply concerned that Mr. Trump might spend the final weeks of the campaign entertaining and energizing his existing supporters while eschewing any concerted effort to find new ones — an approach that could cripple other Republicans running for office.

Ken Spain, a Republican strategist, said Mr. Trump was "not delivering a consistent message at the most critical juncture of the campaign."

"The president appears to have doubled down on a base election strategy," he said, "while Republicans down ballot must figure out a way to appeal to independent voters in states like North Carolina and Maine and Michigan."

Mr. Trump's advisers are hopeful they can use the days through the next debate to change the tra-

jectory of the race. The president is not likely to hold formal debate preparation sessions, in no small part because half of the people in his previous sessions, including Mr. Trump, contracted the coronavirus.

There is also growing frustration among congressional Republicans that the White House has not driven a strong positive message about Judge Amy Coney Barrett's Supreme Court nomination — a confirmation battle that Republicans until recently regarded as their best chance for a political turnaround.

Republicans and allies of the president have trained their ire specifically on Mr. Meadows, showing some of his actions, like showing up at Ms. Barrett's hearings, as a form of personal brand-building.

In some respects, the trajectory of Mr. Trump's campaign in its final weeks reflects longstanding structural weaknesses and internal divisions.

From the start, the campaign has never had a dominant strategist — that role has always been played by a president with a dim view of the political professional

class. In an interview in July with The New York Times, Jared Kushner, a White House adviser and the president's son-in-law, was candid about who was in charge of the 2020 race: Mr. Trump, he said, was "really the campaign manager at the end of the day."

Mr. Trump's first campaign manager, Brad Parscale, focused heavily on building online infrastructure and using it to raise money, while Mr. Kushner oversaw his work.

Mr. Stepien, who replaced Mr. Parscale in July, is regarded in Washington as a capable nuts-



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mark Meadows, the White House chief of staff, has drawn blame from the president and his aides.

POLITICAL MEMO

Back on Trail, Trump Muddles Message With Rhetorical Outbursts

By JONATHAN MARTIN

As soon as President Trump was released from the hospital after being treated for the coronavirus, he and his allies began counting down the days until he could return to the campaign trail. By reviving his beloved rallies, they thought, he could both prove to voters that he was healthy enough to be re-elected and zero in on Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s vulnerabilities.

That is not what has happened.

In the week since he restarted in-person campaigning, Mr. Trump has continued to prove he is his own biggest impediment by drawing more attention to himself each day than to Mr. Biden.

The president is blurring out snippets of his inner monologue by musing about how embarrassing it would be to lose to Mr. Biden — and how he'd never return to whatever state he happens to be in if its voters don't help re-elect him.

He's highlighting his difficulties with key constituencies, like women and older voters, by wondering out loud why they've forsaken him, rather than offering a message to bring more of them back into his camp.

And perhaps most damaging, to him and other Republicans on the ballot, he is further alienating these voters and others by continuing to minimize the pandemic and attacking women in positions of power.

A new low point came on Saturday, when Mr. Trump held a rally in Muskegon, Mich., where he demanded that Gov. Gretchen Whitmer reopen the state and then said "lock them all up" after

his supporters chanted "lock her up!"

It was a stunningly reckless comment from a president whose own F.B.I. this month arrested 14 men who it said had been plotting to kidnap Ms. Whitmer, a Democrat, and were captured on video with an array of weapons allegedly planning the crime. Mr. Trump has assailed Ms. Whitmer for months, disregarding her solid approval ratings with independent voters and women, two groups he is purportedly trying to court.

Michigan Republicans, already struggling to avoid an electoral debate in a state that has been returning to its Democratic roots in elections since Mr. Trump's narrow victory in 2016, were again forced to answer for the president's penchant for targeting high-profile women there.

"She was literally just targeted," Lee Chatfield, the speaker of the Michigan House and a leading state Republican, said of Ms. Whitmer. "Let's debate differences. Let's win elections. But not that."

In a sign of how reluctant Republicans are to criticize Mr. Trump, though, Mr. Chatfield lamented the audience's chant but noted that the president himself hadn't repeated "lock her up" (ignoring that he did say "lock them all up" in response to the audience).

Later, Mr. Chatfield and other Republicans seized on an "8645" pin that was visible during an appearance by Ms. Whitmer on NBC's "Meet the Press" on Sunday, apparently a reference to "86-ing," or ejecting, the 45th president, Mr. Trump. Some Republicans claimed that the

term "86" had a more violent intent, and Mr. Chatfield tweeted that by displaying the pin, Ms. Whitmer had "encouraged more hate."

The condemnation of the pin, though, only illustrated how eager Republicans are to find anything, no matter how far a stretch, to obscure attention from Mr. Trump's language.

A few hours after his appearance in Michigan, Mr. Trump went to Janesville, Wis., and similarly showed no hint of sensitivity to local circumstances. As he did with Ms. Whitmer, he demanded that the state's Democratic governor, Tony Evers, reopen Wisconsin and proclaimed that the country is "rounding the corner" on the virus — never mind that Wisconsin is experiencing a coronavirus spike and hit a record high in

new cases last week.

Not surprisingly, the subsequent coverage of the president's swing to the two crucial Midwestern states focused on the virus and his attack on Ms. Whitmer, who on "Meet the Press" accused Mr. Trump of "inspiring and incentivizing and inciting" the sort of "domestic terrorism" that threatened her.

Mr. Trump's inflammatory style also encourages his own supporters, as was on vivid display in Muskegon when crowd members reprised the 2016 mantra about Hillary Clinton for their own governor, ignoring the alleged kidnapping plot against her.

But it's not just the crowds who seem to be taking their cues from the president.

On Friday, Senator David Perdue of Georgia, a wealthy

former business executive who has a home in affluent Sea Island, Ga., took the microphone at a Trump rally in Macon, Ga., and sought to rile up the red-hatted audience. He suggested he did not know how to pronounce the name of Senator Kamala Harris, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, with whom he has served in the Senate for over three years.

"Kamala? Kamala? Kamala-mala-mala?" he said. "I don't know. Whatever."

Democrats pounced, Republicans were put on the defensive and Mr. Perdue's opponent, Jon Ossoff, raised over \$1.8 million as of Sunday evening.

Mr. Trump's staff has sought to mitigate his self-destructive tendencies. It is clear when he is speaking from a teleprompter at rallies, and as discursive as his speeches are, he'll deliver many of his attack lines on Mr. Biden as written.

But at nearly every event, the president overwhelms his critique of the former vice president.

With Republicans desperate to reframe the election as a choice on policy differences, Mr. Trump, with his rhetorical outbursts, is effectively ensuring that the campaign remains a referendum on his conduct. That's what alarms G.O.P. candidates and strategists, who fear that even the Supreme Court nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett is no match for Mr. Trump's daily exercise in self-sabotage.

Returning to South Carolina triumphantly on Friday after he shepherd Ms. Barrett through her Judiciary Committee hear-

and-bolts tactician. But with a small window of time left before the election, he has not attempted to redraw Mr. Trump's playbook.

For much of the past four years, Mr. Kushner had cast himself as the chief executive of the re-election effort, but he pulled back from that role during the summer and in September, when the political environment had clearly soured. Instead, he thrust himself into a number of diplomatic negotiations in the Middle East that have little evident salience in the election. He has become more engaged in recent weeks, officials said.

Mr. Trump's advisers have not given up hope for a reversal in fortune. Facing a financial crunch, his campaign appears to be concentrating its advertising on a handful of states that provide a slim route to an Electoral College victory: the Sun Belt battlegrounds of Florida, Arizona, Georgia and North Carolina, as well as Pennsylvania, the largest Northern swing state, according to data from the media tracking firm Advertising Analytics. Mr. Trump's travel last week and in the coming days is largely mirroring those priorities.

The campaign has made larger advertising reservations starting next week in states like Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio and Iowa, though it has frequently adjusted or canceled bookings as their start dates have approached.

Many Republicans have resorted to hoping that the president might be disciplined enough for the remaining 16 days to narrow the gap with Mr. Biden and salvage the party's House and Senate candidates.

But few people close to Mr. Trump present the path ahead to him in those terms, Republicans say. They recognize that the president knows he outpolls most G.O.P. candidates in their own districts or states and that suggesting to him that he is on track to lose would be unlikely to produce constructive results.

Mr. Trump, in the meantime, is discussing diversions from his own schedule to help people he cares about personally; for instance, he is likely to schedule an event with Mr. Graham. Though the trip would overlap with a North Carolina media market, and is personally pleasing to Mr. Trump, it would do little to help his own electoral map.

It's that kind of distraction that has frustrations mounting on Capitol Hill and even within the West Wing, over what many Republicans regard as a wasted October so far, including the decision to spurn a second debate.

"The reality is they are probably out of time," said Rob Stutzman, a California-based Republican strategist. "They desperately needed the debate to have a larger audience and to have an opportunity to provide some kind of contrast that would change the race trajectory, meaning a different Trump or an opportunity for a Biden gaffe. That was their best hope for a Hail Mary."

2020 Election



MARK MAKELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Scranton, Pa., is a blue city, but many working-class voters abandoned the Democrats in 2016. Observers say turnout will be key.

Scranton Mulls Vote for a Proud Son

In Biden’s Hometown, Many Residents Are Turned Off From Politics

By **SABRINA TAVERNISE**

SCRANTON, Pa. — Despite it all, Gabriel Perez, the Empanada King of Scranton, is still hopeful about America.

In the first few months of the pandemic, “it was scary, business dropped for a little while,” he said. But now, more people are ordering delivery from his small shop where he has been serving steaming beef and chicken empanadas to go since 2016. Last month he invested in a renovation of his kitchen, with new equipment and a fresh coat of paint.

Mr. Perez did not vote for Donald J. Trump in 2016. He did not vote at all. But he does not dislike him. Mr. Trump’s book “The Art of the Deal” gave him “guidelines for how to run my business: No matter how many times you make a mistake, just keep going.”

And while he does not think he will vote for President Trump this year, he is not sold on former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. either.

“The Democrats and Republicans are both lost,” he said a few weeks ago in his shop, a Biden ad on mute on the television on the wall. “They are not giving solutions. They just want you to pick their side.”

In the final weeks of the campaign, Mr. Biden has made Scranton, his hometown, a major part of his closing pitch. “I really do view this campaign as a campaign between Scranton and Park Avenue,” he said at a CNN event in town last month. Embedded in Mr. Biden’s shorthand is that he can win back the paradigmatic Scranton voter: white, working class, disaffected by Democrats.

But Scranton is no longer the dying coal town of Mr. Biden’s youth. It is both more racially diverse and prosperous. In more than two dozen interviews the week of Mr. Biden’s visit, few voters were particularly enthusiastic about his candidacy, despite his personal roots, but about half said they probably would vote for him anyway. Voters who abandoned the Democratic Party in 2016 said they planned to vote for Mr. Trump again this year. Some people said they were so fed up with politics that they were not going to vote at all. Others expressed annoyance at what they said was Mr. Biden’s habit of making Scranton into a kind of blue-collar cartoon.

At the town-hall-style event, held six miles from downtown in a stadium parking lot, Mr. Biden said that not many people in Scranton owned stock.

“Frankly, it was insulting,” said Frances Keating, 74, a retired accountant who has lived in Scranton most of her life. “He’s using Scranton as a prop.”

Still, she said she planned to vote for Mr. Biden because “Trump is a monster.”

Scranton has become a symbol for Democrats’ lost dreams in 2016, when working-class voters abandoned the party in droves. The city itself is blue. But the surrounding county, Lackawanna, and a neighboring one, Luzerne, had the second- and third-largest swings toward Mr. Trump of any county with more than 100,000 voters in the United States. The surge was enough to cover his 44,000-vote victory in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Trump is trailing in the state by seven percentage points, but the enthusiasm he enjoys among

many ancestral Democrats in Scranton highlights the challenges Mr. Biden still faces in a state regarded by both parties as a must-win next month.

Kim Anzelmi, a former meat inspector, was watching television after dinner in a suburb of Scranton last month when Mr. Biden flashed on the screen.

“Mr. President, do your job,” Mr. Biden said.

Ms. Anzelmi scoffed. She said that she was tired of hearing from progressives that she had privilege because she was white and that she feared a Biden presidency would only give them more power.

“I put myself through college,” said Ms. Anzelmi, who is 55 and whose vote for Mr. Trump in 2016 was the first she had ever cast for president. “I was a security guard at Sears. I worked in meat plants where I was the only woman. Now you tell me I’m entitled?”

That Mr. Biden is from this area did not matter. Ms. Anzelmi plans to vote for Mr. Trump again. But in a sign of how complicated politics have become within families, her husband — an immigrant from Uruguay who got his citizenship in 2009 but has never voted — likes Mr. Biden and said he thought he might vote for him.

Mr. Trump “is crazy,” he said, sitting in an armchair near his wife. “He speaks too much.”

He asked his wife why she liked him.

“I agree with Trump because I got screwed,” she said.

“But nobody does nothing for you,” he said. “It’s going to be the same.”

A saw-shaped spot on the map whose coal mines drew immigrants from Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Scranton has a population that peaked in the 1930s and declined sharply in the following decades.

In the early 2000s, the economy began to pick up. Located at the intersection of several major Interstate highways, logistics companies and warehouses began to open up. The economic engines that powered revivals in places like Pittsburgh — education and health care — have grown too. Colleges have expanded dramatically. A new medical school has opened.

Demographics have changed too. Hispanics are now about 14 percent of the population in Scranton. In Hazleton, a city in Luzerne County, they make up more than half. Scranton now has two Hindu temples and Indian grocery stores that serve South Asians working in the hospitals and at a nearby T.J. Maxx warehouse.

But immigrants in Scranton do not all default to the Democratic Party.

The day after Mr. Biden’s visit, Dipen Vyas was standing outside his Indian food supply store with two friends. All of them were Indian immigrant business owners and all had voted for Mr. Trump in 2016. They liked that he was a businessman, and that he had promised to be tough on illegal immigration.

But they could not decide whether to vote for Mr. Trump again. On the one hand, Indians who had been waiting years for permanent residence were now being rejected. On the other, the president seemed to have struck up a strong relationship with Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India. But they liked Mr. Biden too. He was from Scranton. And he had already been vice president, so he knew the ropes.

“I’m going to toss the coin,” Mr. Vyas said. “Heads or tails.”

On Scranton’s South Side, where new arrivals from Mexico,

Central America and the Caribbean are now moving into houses that used to belong to immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, Mr. Perez at the empanada shop, Papi’s Kitchen, was reflecting on the political decision before him.

In 2016, Mr. Perez preferred Bernie Sanders. Health care for everyone and free tuition made sense to him. But he did not vote after Mr. Sanders lost the Democratic nomination. That year, he opened his empanada shop in what used to be a pizza takeout place.

Now the Democrats’ main pitch seems to be to get rid of Mr. Trump. But Mr. Perez, 45, did not feel very excited by that.

Democrats are too preoccupied with race, he said, and too negative on America.

“I didn’t come from a great background, but for me to be where I am today, that’s America,” said Mr. Perez, who grew up in a working-class Puerto Rican family in Newark but said he sometimes felt that Democrats reduced him to his ethnic background.

He added, “I mean is Biden really going to change anything?”

Few in town personally objected to Mr. Biden, even those who support Mr. Trump.

“It’s not really even about Biden,” said Eddie Franklin, who, together with other Trump supporters, was parked by the side of the road that led to Mr. Biden’s event. What worried him was how weak Mr. Biden seemed, and how that might allow less moderate Democrats to take over.

Mr. Franklin, 68, who works in a car lot, said that he came from a long line of coal miners who were Democrats, but that the party had moved too far left. A sign saying, “Democrat never again, my eyes are open,” was taped to his back window.

The largest concentration of Biden yard signs was in the Green Ridge neighborhood, where Mr. Biden grew up.

“Joe Biden is the best shot that Scranton has ever really had in my lifetime,” said Joseph Corcoran, a former county commissioner who grew up in an Irish-American family about 12 blocks from Mr. Biden’s house.

But liking Mr. Biden did not always translate into voting. A worker at a sandwich shop a few blocks from Mr. Biden’s childhood house, said he liked Mr. Biden but had not voted for president since 2004 and did not think he would this time either. Politicians “are just so corrupt,” he said. That cynicism has settled deeply in Scranton. This month, the former mayor, a Democrat, was sentenced to seven years for extorting contractors, part of a long line of public corruption scandals in the area.

Turnout is what worried Michael McDermott, the business manager at International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local No. 81. Not enough union members voted in 2016 to keep Mr. Trump from winning Pennsylvania.

“Trump’s numbers aren’t going to change that much,” he said. “What we need is for our numbers to change.”

He predicted that many who did not turn out in 2016 would show up for Mr. Biden this year. Still, he is worried.

“I’m not sleeping peacefully,” he said.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES



MARK MAKELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. has made his Scranton roots part of his political image, but President Trump is enjoying enthusiasm among many former Democrats in the area.

An Essential Question: Would Biden’s Tax Plan Help a Weak Economy?

By **JIM TANKERSLEY**
and **THOMAS KAPLAN**

At a drive-in campaign rally last week at a union hall in Toledo, Ohio, Joseph R. Biden Jr. asked those in the audience to beep their car horns if they earned more than \$400,000 a year. “You’re going to get a tax raise,” he declared as some cars honked.

Mr. Biden, the Democratic presidential nominee, has proposed sweeping tax increases on high earners and large corporations, which various independent forecasting models project would raise around \$2.5 trillion or more in revenue over a decade. In a rare case of agreement, both Mr. Biden and his incumbent opponent, President Trump, have sought to elevate those tax plans in the closing weeks of the campaign.

The competing strategies reflect diverging views of how voters respond to tax increases — and of how those increases will affect a fragile economic recovery in the years to come.

Mr. Biden and his advisers say tax increases now would accelerate growth by funding a stream of spending proposals that would help the economy, like infrastructure improvement and investments in clean energy. At least one independent study supports those claims, finding that Mr. Biden’s full suite of plans would bolster economic growth. Researchers at some conservative think tanks project that his tax increases would exert only a modest drag on the economy.

Mr. Trump and congressional Republicans say otherwise, arguing that tax increases of any kind threaten to derail the rebound from recession. “If he comes along and raises rates, all those companies that are coming in, they will leave the U.S. so fast your head will spin,” the president said on Thursday during an NBC town hall event. “We can’t let that happen.”

A group of Mr. Trump’s former economic advisers released a study last week projecting steep losses in employment, wage and economic growth from the enactment of Mr. Biden’s agenda, including significant damage from a tax proposal that has drawn relatively little scrutiny in the campaign: Mr. Biden’s plan to lift the cap on wages subject to the payroll tax that funds Social Security. That move will raise money from high earners, but two of Mr. Trump’s former economic advisers say it will punish small-business owners and reduce hiring.

Polls show Americans largely support raising taxes on the rich. But Mr. Biden has faced mounting questions about whether, given the pandemic, he would delay his tax increases, which also include raising the corporate rate to 28 percent from 21 percent and increasing the rate on investment and labor income for high earners.

The questions have come largely from Republican critics, but also arose during an ABC town hall event on Thursday. Asked if it was wise to raise taxes on the wealthy and corporations now, in the middle of a weak economy, Mr. Biden replied, “Absolutely.”

Republicans have long asserted that any Democratic proposals to raise taxes would hurt the economy, regardless of whether it was booming or ailing. In recent years, including in the Democratic presidential primaries this year, Democrats and liberal economists have more forcefully argued the opposite: that raising taxes on the rich to fund government spending that bolsters the productivity of the United States economy will accelerate economic growth.

Economists advising Mr. Biden’s campaign from the outside say that they remain confident that his agenda will promote growth — and that Mr. Biden should not wait, if elected, to raise taxes on corporations and the rich.

“This has been a hugely unequal recession. And the high-income people, and big corporations, many of them have not had a recession at all,” said Austan D. Goolsbee, a former chief of the White House Council of Economic Advisers under President Barack Obama who is now a professor at the Chicago Booth School of Business and an outside adviser to Mr. Biden.

If you raise taxes on those groups as Mr. Biden has proposed, Mr. Goolsbee said, “and use the money for the things Joe Biden is talking about, that doesn’t decrease growth. That increases growth.”

Several independent tax modelers have analyzed Mr. Biden’s plans in recent weeks, estimating how much tax revenue they could generate and whether they would help or hurt the economy. Some analyze Mr. Biden’s tax and spending proposals together. Others focus only on taxes.

The most bullish of those analyses for Mr. Biden comes from Moody’s Analytics, which reported recently that if Mr. Biden wins and Democrats control both the House and Senate, the nation’s real gross domestic product would be \$960 billion larger at the end of his term than it would be at the end of a second Trump term with Republicans controlling both houses. The gains from Mr. Biden’s spending programs would outweigh the drag from his tax increases, Moody’s determined.

Others have found relatively small effects on growth from the taxes. The Tax Foundation, which typically forecasts large gains from cutting taxes, predicts the Biden plan would reduce the size of the economy by nearly 1.5 percent over about 30 years. Kyle Pomerleau and Grant M. Seiter of the American Enterprise Institute find the tax plan would shrink the economy by 0.16 percent over a decade.

In an interview, Mr. Pomerleau said the drag was small from the proposals because Mr. Biden was largely taxing savings of high earners, which are not major drivers of economic growth given those Americans have a lot of their wealth saved.

“Some tax increases have larger effects on growth than others,” he said. “Biden has chosen taxes that don’t have a massive effect.”

Kevin Hassett, a former chairman of Mr. Trump’s Council of Economic Advisers now at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution, and Casey B. Mulligan, a

An issue that both candidates think is to his advantage.

former top economist for the council who is a University of Chicago professor, along with their co-authors, Timothy Fitzgerald and Cody Kallen, find much larger damage to growth in an analysis that examines Mr. Biden’s tax, health care and regulatory proposals.

They project that Mr. Biden’s plan to expand subsidies for health insurance under the Affordable Care Act will discourage Americans from working and earning more. And they predict that corporate tax increases will reduce investment, that new environmental regulations will raise energy costs and that the increased Social Security payroll taxes will discourage hiring for small-business owners whose profits are taxed as individual income. High-earning owners of such businesses would be subject to additional taxes from the lifting of the Social Security wage cap, which the authors contend would reduce the amount of money they have available to hire.

Mr. Hassett said in an interview that the study was meant to show how “implausible” it would be for Mr. Biden to try to carry out his plans at a time when the economy was still struggling. “Jacking up the corporate rate right now seems like a disaster,” he said, “given how close to the edge so many firms are.”

Both Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden have been eager to make their tax plans a campaign issue. Mr. Trump frequently says that Mr. Biden’s plans would destroy the economy and plunge the country into another Great Depression.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Biden makes a point to note his pledge not to raise taxes on people earning less than \$400,000 a year. His campaign is also emphasizing that promise in television ads, including one that concludes, “Biden’s plan: Corporations pay more. You benefit.”

Mr. Biden has leaned into the plan in the campaign’s final days. He has also acknowledged the potential political hurdles to enacting it. “So there’s not going to be any delay on the tax increases?” the moderator of the ABC event, George Stephanopoulos, asked Mr. Biden on Thursday.

“No, well, I got to get the votes,” Mr. Biden said. “I got to get the votes.”

Racist Postings by New York Court Officers Are Detailed in Bias Report

Negative Treatment For People of Color

By JAN RANSOM

One white court officer in Brooklyn posted an illustration of President Barack Obama with a noose around his neck on social media. Another white officer referred to a Black court officer as “one of the good monkeys.”

A third white court officer commented to a white colleague that he would have done better on a firearms test if he had been given a “Sean Bell target,” a reference to an unarmed Black man killed by the police in 2006.

The incidents of overt racism were among several mentioned in a new report about racial bias in the New York State Court system commissioned by Chief Judge Janet DiFiore after national protests this summer against institutional racism in the criminal justice system.

Jeh C. Johnson, a former Homeland Security secretary under President Obama, led the team that did the review. His report, released with little fanfare last week, found pervasive racism in New York courts, both explicit and implicit, from judges, court officers and lawyers. The accounts of racial bias the team collected bore a striking similarity to testimony in another review from three decades ago, the report said.

The state’s court system, one of the busiest in the country, is overburdened and understaffed, the report said. In New York City, the system has had a “dehumanizing effect” and disparate effect on people of color moving through the housing, family, civil and criminal courts, it said.

“The sad picture that emerges is, in effect, a second-class system of justice for people of color in New York State,” Mr. Johnson wrote. “This is a moment that demands a strong and pronounced rededication to equal justice under law by the New York State Court system.”

The chief administrative judge, Lawrence K. Marks, said the court system would try to implement all of the report’s recommendations. He noted a mandatory bias training program was already in the works.

“The findings are troubling, but not surprising,” Judge Marks said. “Nothing could be more important at this moment in time than for the court system to take all necessary steps to combat bias and ensure racial equality.”

A Long-Running Problem

Mr. Johnson wrote that a Brooklyn court officer’s “vile, racist posting” in June about former President Obama had “peeled the lid off long-simmering racial tensions and intolerance within the court officer community.”

The officer, Sgt. Terri Napolitano of Brooklyn Criminal Court, was accused of uploading to Facebook an illustration of Mr. Obama with a noose around his neck and of Hillary Clinton being taken to a wooden apparatus to be hanged. Sergeant Napolitano did not respond to a request for comment.

She was suspended for 30 days, her was firearm taken away and she remains on paid leave with disciplinary charges pending, court officials said. After the posts appeared, three Black court offi-



JEEHAH MOON/REUTERS

Only a quarter of criminal court judges are people of color, and the report found challenges to diversifying the judiciary.



ANGELA WEISS/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Many Black and Hispanic lawyers said they had been mistreated for defendants and asked to show identification.

cers sent a letter to Judge DiFiore saying the racist memes were “only the tip of the iceberg.”

The sergeant’s behavior had long been tolerated, the report said, which was evidence of a broader institutional acceptance of racist conduct. It recommended “more robust bias training for nonjudicial personnel, particularly the court officer community.”

Judge Marks said the administration will mandate, expand and improve bias training for court officers and work to ensure broader diversity in supervisory court officer positions.

Mr. Johnson’s team found that some court officers, in dealing with people of color who were defendants, lawyers or the public, were disrespectful, condescending, and at times, racist.

Court officers were heard using racial slurs and berating minority litigants about the clothes they wore. Black defendants were often handcuffed when appearing in court for minor infractions, while white defendants were not, the report found.

Some court officers told the report’s authors they did not report instances of bias out of fear of retaliation from powerful union leaders. They worried that doing so could jeopardize their career, according to the report.

The report also noted that one union leader had posted offensive messages on social media, calling protesters who sprayed graffiti on a court van “animals” and posting a profile picture with the Betsy Ross flag, which has been linked to white supremacist groups like the Ku Klux Klan.

Dennis Quirk, the longtime president of the New York State Court Officers Association, acknowledged in an interview that he was the leader mentioned in

the report. He said his use of the term “animals” was unrelated to race.

“It don’t matter if you’re Hispanic, gay, female or whatever — you did something you shouldn’t be doing,” he said.

Mr. Quirk said he does not support white supremacy and did not know that the Betsy Ross flag was associated with racist groups. He called the report an attempt by the chief judge to discredit the union and diminish its power.

But Mr. Quirk acknowledged that racism was a problem among his union’s members. “We have white officers who come and tell us that Black and Hispanic officers are saying things that are not proper,” he said, adding that Black officers have complained about white officers making inappropriate remarks. “Racism exists in every walk of life no matter where you go.”

Pat Bonanno, a lawyer representing the union that Mr. Quirk leads, said in a letter sent to Mr. Johnson that the union “condemns in the harshest possible way any instance of insensitivity, racially animated or otherwise, on the part of any member of the association.” Mr. Bonanno denied the allegations raised against the union and its leaders, calling them “inaccurate and defamatory.”

Lawyers Describe Mistreatment

As part of the review, Mr. Johnson and his team interviewed nearly 300 people throughout the court system, including many Black and Hispanic lawyers who recounted incidents of bias.

These lawyers said that they were often mistaken for criminal defendants and were asked to show identification to enter the courthouse while most white lawyers were not questioned. They



MARK LENNIHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The report found that high-volume courts that largely serve poor people of color face a persistent lack of resources.



MARK LENNIHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A white court officer in Brooklyn was accused of sharing an illustration of President Barack Obama with a noose.

also said they were often asked to identify themselves when they sat in the front row of the courtroom, which is reserved for lawyers.

Black and Hispanic lawyers told the report’s authors that they are “believed less often” when making statements to judges, a problem that is magnified when their client is also a person of color.

One lawyer said she has been called “aggressive” while her white male counterparts have not when they have made similar arguments before the court, the report said.

Chishana White, a Black woman who is the director of diversity and inclusion for Brooklyn Defender Services, a public defender organization, said the kind of pervasive racism in courthouses that the report highlighted had led her

to stop practicing law. She said when she walked into court she was often “assumed to be less than an attorney.”

“It’s dehumanizing,” Ms. White said in a phone interview. “It somewhat feels like the 1960s — the way you’re treated and judged and misjudged.”

She added, “Day in and day out my colleagues are fighting every day against these systems, fighting for the best for our clients, but also fighting against court officers and judges.”

Judiciary Still Lags in Diversity

The report zeroed in on another problem: a lack of diversity among judges. Even in New York, a city where more than half of the residents are Black or Hispanic, only a quarter of criminal court judges are people of color.

Judges interviewed for the report said there were challenges to diversifying the judiciary. The appointment process, some judges said, required candidates to go through judicial screening committees that were predominately white.

One judge said the electoral process also tends to marginalize Black and Hispanic candidates. Like the appointive process, it depends on a candidate’s personal connections, and the nominating system, which is controlled by party loyalists, “causes candidates of color to be bypassed or discouraged by party leadership, particularly in upstate counties.”

Judges also said a persistent lack of resources devoted to some of the busiest courts, like the housing and family courts in New York City, has had a disparate effect on Black and Hispanic residents, who make up most of the people with cases before those judges.

One judge said the reluctance of state court officials to devote more resources to high-volume courts in New York City, which largely serve poor people of color, is “the very definition of institutional bias,” according to the report.

Next Steps

Noting many participants in the system are afraid of retribution if they criticize judges or court officers, the report recommended that the Office of Court Administration do more to encourage court employees to report incidents of bias to the system’s inspector general. That office currently investigates fewer than 10 complaints each year.

The report also called for the expansion of bias training for judges and all other personnel, and for the strengthening of existing organizations focused on addressing racism, including the Office of Diversity and Inclusion.

That office’s team, which works on improving diversity in the court system, was cut from eight people to two. Funding for programs addressing racial bias was denied in 2018, and “far too little” has been spent since then to develop such a program, the report said.

Judge Marks said the administration has already started to develop a mandatory bias training program.

“There’s zero tolerance in the court system for racial bias,” he said.

Man Is Said to Threaten Wichita Mayor

By CHRISTINA MORALES and MICHAEL LEVENSON

Mayor Brandon Whipple of Wichita, Kan., says he often gets “goofy” threats, like the time someone said they wanted to attack him with a Goodyear blimp.

But those threats took a serious turn on Friday after someone reported to the police that they had received text messages threatening to kidnap and kill Mr. Whipple, a Democrat. Although the messages weren’t sent directly to Mr. Whipple, he said a detective read them to him.

The messages contained a “very descriptive plan of execution,” including locating the mayor, slitting his throat, hanging him and then turning him into fertilizer, Mr. Whipple said on Saturday.

Mr. Whipple said the man sent the messages to a third party, who later reported the messages to the police. The messages described the mayor using a code name, asked for his address and also mentioned opposition to masks and coronavirus mitigation policies.

The mayor pushed in July to pass a mask mandate in Wichita. “This isn’t someone who is just kind of angry,” Mr. Whipple said. “This sounded like it was thought out in the text messages that were read to me.”

On Friday, the Wichita Police Department said in a news release that Meredith Dowty, 59, was arrested on a charge of criminal threat in connection with threatening statements directed



CITY OF WICHITA

The police arrested a man they say wanted to kill Mayor Brandon Whipple of Wichita, Kan.

at Mr. Whipple.

The findings from the investigation will be presented to the Sedgewick County District Attorney’s Office, the police said.

Attempts on Sunday to reach Mr. Dowty by phone and email were unsuccessful. It was not known if Mr. Dowty has a lawyer.

The district attorney, Marc Bennett, said the police would present their case to prosecutors “at the conclusion of their investigation,” which he expected to be this week.

The Wichita Eagle reported that Mr. Dowty is a retired Wichita city firefighter who was once honored by the City Council for helping save the life of a police officer who had been shot.

Officer Charley Davidson of the

Wichita Police Department said on Sunday that he wasn’t aware of other threats directed at elected officials.

It’s the latest in a series of threats made this month against government officials.

On Oct. 8, the F.B.I. said an anti-government group in Michigan had plotted in detail to kidnap the state’s governor, Gretchen Whitmer, a Democrat. The F.B.I. also said on Thursday that Gov. Ralph Northam of Virginia, also a Democrat, was discussed as a target by the same group.

Ms. Whitmer became a focal point of anti-government anger over her efforts to mitigate the spread of the coronavirus.

In Wichita, Mr. Whipple supported a citywide mask rule in July after Sedgewick County commissioners, empowered by a legislative change, rolled back a mandate imposed by the state. County officials eventually instituted their own mask rule anyway.

At a City Council meeting, more than 100 people spoke out against the rule. The mayor said people blamed him for it.

“I was the one who spearheaded it, and I was going to take the blame for it,” he said.

Although Mr. Whipple said he was angry and annoyed about the threats, he said he just wanted to get back to doing his work as mayor.

“Until I’m voted out or until they’re successful in assassinating me, I’m hoping to do what’s right for the people of Wichita,” he said.

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How Political Agendas Fill Void of Disappearing Local News

From Page A1

porter turned internet entrepreneur who has sought to capitalize on the decline of local news organizations for nearly two decades. He has built the network with the help of several others, including a Texas brand-management consultant and a conservative Chicago radio personality.

The Times uncovered details about the operation through interviews with more than 30 current and former employees and clients, as well as thousands of internal emails between reporters and editors spanning several years. Employees of the network shared emails and the editing history in the site's publishing software that revealed who requested dozens of articles and how.

Mr. Timpone did not respond to repeated attempts to contact him by email and phone, or through a note left at his home in the Chicago suburbs. Many of his executives did not respond to or declined requests for comment.

The network is one of a proliferation of partisan local-news sites funded by political groups associated with both parties. Liberal donors have poured millions of dollars into operations like Courier, a network of eight sites that began covering local news in swing states last year. Conservative activists are running similar sites, like the Star News group in Tennessee, Virginia and Minnesota.

But those operations run just several sites each, while Mr. Timpone's network has more than twice as many sites as the nation's largest newspaper chain, Gannett. And while political groups have helped finance networks like Courier, investors in news operations typically don't weigh in on specific articles.

While Mr. Timpone's sites generally do not post information that is outright false, the operation is rooted in deception, eschewing hallmarks of news reporting like fairness and transparency. Only a few dozen of the sites disclose funding from advocacy groups. Traditional news organizations do not accept payment for articles; the Federal Trade Commission requires that advertising that looks like articles be clearly labeled as ads.

Most of the sites declare in their "About" pages that they aim "to provide objective, data-driven information without political bias." But in April, an editor for the network reminded freelancers that "clients want a politically conservative focus on their stories, so avoid writing stories that only focus on a Democrat lawmaker, bill, etc.," according to an email viewed by The Times.

Other news organizations have raised concerns about the political bent of some of the sites. But the extent of the deceit has been concealed for years with confidentiality contracts for writers and a confusing web of companies that run the papers. Those companies have received at least \$1.7 million from Republican political campaigns and conservative groups, according to tax records and campaign-finance reports, the only payments that could be traced in public records.

Editors for Mr. Timpone's network assign work to freelancers dotted around the United States and abroad, often paying \$3 to \$36 per job. The assignments typically come with precise instructions on whom to interview and what to write, according to the internal correspondence. In some cases, those instructions are written by the network's clients, who are sometimes the subjects of the articles.

The emails showed a salesman for Mr. Timpone's sites offering a potential client a \$2,000 package that included running five articles and unlimited news releases. The salesman stressed that reporters would call the shots on some articles, while the client would have a say on others.

Ian Prior, a Republican operative, was behind the articles about Ms. Gideon, the Senate candidate in Maine, as well as articles promoting Senators Lindsey Graham of South Carolina and Roy Blunt of Missouri, according to the internal records. Mr. Prior previously worked for the Senate Leadership Fund, a political action committee that has spent \$9.7 million against Ms. Gideon.

Juan David Leal, who has worked in the Mexico office of the Berkeley Research Group, a consulting firm, ordered up articles criticizing the Mexican government's response to the coronavirus.

And employees at the Illinois Opportunity Project, a conservative advocacy group, requested dozens of articles about specific

Ben Decker, Jacob Meschke and Jacob Silver contributed reporting. Data analysis was contributed by Kellen Browning, Mariel Wamsley, Emile Robert, Elaine Chen, Ellie Zhu and Lindsey Cook. Susan Beachy, Kitty Bennett and Alain Delaquerière contributed research.



SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Brian Timpone, right, a former TV reporter, added about 900 websites to his local news network in just five months last year. The outlets are mostly online, but some also print newspapers. Much of the content is paid for by think tanks and political operatives.



RICH HEIN/CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, VIA AP

'Oh, my gosh, no. Oh, no, not at all.'

Jeanne Ives, a Republican candidate for the U.S. House in Illinois, on whether she paid for positive coverage. Records show that companies owned by Brian Timpone received \$55,000 from Ms. Ives over three years.



SHANE LAVALETTE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Mr. Timpone has sought to capitalize on the decline of local news outlets. Angela Underwood, left, a freelance writer, said she felt duped into publicizing G.O.P. attacks on a Democratic candidate.

Republican politicians in Illinois. The group has paid \$441,000 to Mr. Timpone's companies, according to the nonprofit's tax records.

A spokeswoman for Ms. Collins, the Maine senator, said the campaign answers questions "from media outlets of all stripes and persuasions," including the Maine Beacon, a local-news outlet funded by a Democratic group.

Mr. Prior leads a P.R. firm that markets its ability to get coverage in local-news outlets. He said in an email that he pitches stories to a variety of outlets, including Mr. Timpone's network because it "actually covers local issues." He did not respond to questions about

whether he had paid for the coverage.

The Illinois Opportunity Project did not respond to requests for comment. Mr. Leal did not comment for this article.

Some of the most popular articles on Mr. Timpone's sites get tens of thousands of shares on social media. That is a modest reach in the national conversation. But with the focus on small towns, less readership is needed to make an impact. In some of those towns, Mr. Timpone's outlets also publish newspapers and deliver them, unsolicited, to doorsteps.

Ben Ashkar, the chief operating officer of Locality Labs, one of the

companies connected to the sites, was the sole executive at the network who spoke on the record for this article. He said he didn't think people could pay for coverage.

"I hope not," he said. "How would I know? Honestly I don't think people are paying."

Big Ambitions

Mr. Timpone, who turns 48 this month, got his start in politics by covering it. In the 1990s, he was a news anchor and reporter at Illinois TV stations. Eventually he became the spokesman for the State House's Republican minority leader.

A personable guy and persuasive salesman, according to people who know him, Mr. Timpone then became focused on replacing the old print guard as a digital-news mogul.

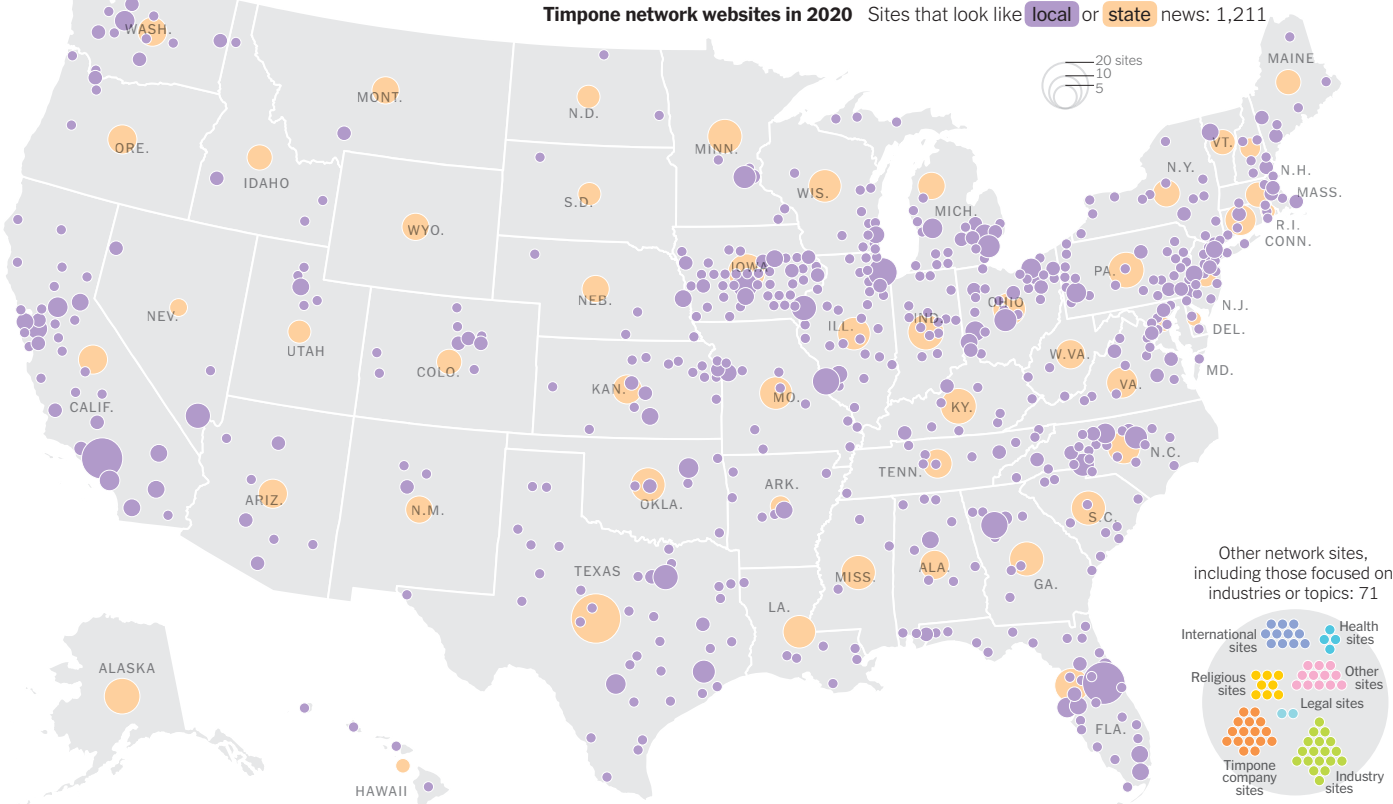
"Big metro papers are like the fly in your house that gets slow and you just catch it with your hand," he said in a 2015 interview with Dan Proft, a conservative radio talk show host in Chicago.

About a decade ago, Mr. Timpone started Journatic, a service that aimed to automate and outsource reporters' jobs, selling it to two of the nation's largest chains, Hearst and Tribune Publishing. He used rudimentary software to

turn public data into snippets of news. That content still fills most of his sites. And for the articles written by humans, he simply paid reporters less, even using workers in the Philippines who wrote under fake bylines.

When the radio show "This American Life" revealed his strategy in 2012, Mr. Timpone defended his approach as a way to save local news. "No one covers all these small towns," he said. "I'm not saying we're the solution, but we're certainly on the road to the solution."

Around 2015, he teamed up with Mr. Proft and started a chain of websites and free newspapers fo-



Note: Websites that look like local news are placed on the map by county. Websites that look like state and intra-state regional news are placed by state. Dots are sized by the number of sites related to each county or state. Sources: Data via Global Disinformation Index and Ben Decker. Sites were discovered using reverse lookups of Google Analytics and Google AdSense.

ELLA KOEZE/THE NEW YORK TIMES



MATTHEW GILSON

cused on suburban and rural areas of Illinois.

The publications looked like typical news outlets that covered their communities. But a political action committee controlled by Mr. Proft paid Mr. Timpone's companies at least \$646,000 from 2016 to 2018, according to state campaign finance records, money that largely came from Dick Uihlein, a conservative megadonor and the head of the shipping-supply giant Uline.

After complaints, the Illinois Board of Elections ordered the newspapers to say Mr. Proft's committee funded them. A small disclaimer in their "About" pages now says the sites are funded, "in part, by advocacy groups who share our beliefs in limited government." The Illinois sites are virtually the only ones in Mr. Timpone's network with such a disclosure.

The regulators' questions didn't slow Mr. Timpone down. He doubled the size of the Illinois network to 34 sites, and by 2017 was expanding to other states. He also added dozens of sites with focuses beyond politics, including 11 that look like traditional legal-news publications but are funded by a U.S. Chamber of Commerce group.

Then, from June through October last year, the network ballooned further, from roughly 300 sites to nearly 1,300, according to a Times analysis of data collected by the Global Disinformation Index, an internet research group. (The Tow Center for Digital Journalism at Columbia University tallied a similar number of sites in the network.)

"It's astounding to see how quickly the sites have popped up across the country in an attempt to fill the news void," said Penelope Muse Abernathy, a University of North Carolina journalism professor who has calculated that about 2,100 newspapers have folded across the country since 2004, a 25 percent decline.

Some of the new sites have only the automated content, but they have quickly sprung to life when local news has arisen. That happened in August when protests erupted in Kenosha, Wis., after the police shot an unarmed Black man. One of the sites, Kenosha Reporter, published multiple articles about the criminal backgrounds of the man and protesters. One of those articles was shared 22,000 times on Facebook, reaching 2.6 million people, according to CrowdTangle, a Facebook-owned data tool.

Mr. Timpone's role in the network is supported by public and internal documents. In emails viewed by The Times, he assigned stories, and editors called him the network's top executive.

He has also said publicly, and in a filing with the Federal Election Commission, that he runs some of

the sites.

But the web of companies behind the network make it more difficult to track the money behind the sites, and even Mr. Timpone's oversight of them. It is unclear whether that is intentional. Those companies include Metric Media, Locality Labs, Newsinator, Franklin Archer and Interactive Content Services. The exact ownership of the companies is also unclear.

Most of the network's new sites say they are part of Metric Media. A Texas P.R. consultant named Bradley Cameron says in his on-line résumé that he is the general manager of Metric Media and is "currently retained by private investors to develop a national media enterprise." Internal records show that the same editors run Metric Media's news operations and Mr. Timpone's other sites.

In August, two local newspapers, a combined 142 years old, in Mount Vernon, Ohio, and Lake Isabella, Calif. announced to their readers that they had been purchased by Metric Media LLC.

Tanner Salyers, a city councilman in Mount Vernon, population 17,000, said that when he emailed Metric Media to ask what its plans were for the town's only newspaper, Mr. Timpone called back to say that he now owned the Mount Vernon News and that he would rebuild it. Yet since the change in ownership, Mr. Salyers said, the newspaper has cut much of its staff and reduced print circulation to two days a week from six.

"I'm the first person to admit that the Mount Vernon News was not Pulitzer material," Mr. Salyers said. "But nevertheless, it was local and independent. You could go to the grocery store and bump into the writers." Now, a reporter based in Atlanta has covered local happenings, he said, and not well. When a water line broke last week, forcing the town's residents to boil their water, the Mount Vernon News didn't mention it.

The Times spoke with 16 reporters who have worked for Mr. Timpone. Many said they overlooked their doubts about the job because the pay was steady and journalism gigs were scarce.

Pat Morris said she had begun writing for the network after being laid off from The Florham Park Eagle in northern New Jersey.

"I wanted to make a living," she said. "I was tired of banging on doors." She thought the sites were a "content mill" to sell ads, but she eventually figured out the mission. She quit in July.

Ms. Underwood, who wrote the Maine Business Daily article, said she, too, had felt duped once the political agenda had become clear.

"You say you're never going to dance with the devil like that; you just judge people for doing it," Ms. Underwood said. "And then you're just in the exact same position."

'Story Watchers'

In the publishing tool used by reporters and editors at Mr. Timpone's websites is a list of names with a peculiar title: "Story watchers." These are Mr. Timpone's clients.

The Times reviewed the history behind dozens of articles in the publishing tool, revealing more than 80 story watchers. Many have pitched stories with instructions on what reporters should write, whom they should talk to and what they should ask. Over 17 days in July, these clients ordered up around 200 articles, company records show.

Internal documents show how much influence the clients have. "The clients pay us to produce a certain amount of copy each day for their websites," said one "tool kit" for new writers. "In some cases, the clients will provide their own copy."

John Tillman, an activist who once led the Illinois Opportunity Project and whose other groups have paid Mr. Timpone's companies hundreds of thousands of dollars, said in an email that some of the payments to Mr. Timpone were to underwrite his news operation. Mr. Timpone, he said, allows "community leaders and influencers" to "pitch (not 'order') story ideas."

Mr. Ashkar, the Locality Labs executive, said the sites wrote more about Republicans because they, unlike Democrats, talked to the reporters. "It's like covering a beat, right? You're a journalist," he said. "They make relationships with people, and then they're trusted and then they write stories about them."

He said he didn't find the sites' focus on certain politicians unusual.

"Go look at The New York Times. It's all about Trump," Mr. Ashkar said. "How's that any different?"

Jeanne Ives, a Republican candidate for the U.S. House in Illinois, has had a direct financial relationship with the operation.

Ms. Ives has paid Mr. Timpone's companies \$55,000 over the last three years, according to state and federal records. During that time, the Illinois sites have published overwhelmingly positive coverage of her, including running some of her news releases verbatim.

In an interview, she said her payments were to create her website and monitor her Wikipedia page. One \$14,342 payment included the note "Advertising-newspaper." Ms. Ives initially could not explain why. She later called back to say Mr. Timpone had bought Facebook ads for her.

Asked if she was paying for positive coverage, she replied: "Oh, no, there's none of that going on. I assure you. Oh, my gosh, no. Oh, no, not at all."

Ms. Ives is listed as a "story

watcher." She said she did not know why.

Articles for a Magnate

In March, Monty Bennett, the hotel magnate, faced a crisis. The coronavirus had halted travel, and his company, Ashford, which oversees more than 100 hotels, was facing big losses. So he ordered up a news article.

"I want to push our government to go after China. Why should this murderous regime be left off the hook while we suffer," said a story pitch attributed to Mr. Bennett on the publishing tool behind Mr. Timpone's sites.

The pitch resulted in an article that repeated his claims on DC Business Daily, which appears to be a straightforward business and politics news outlet in Washington.

"A national hotel chain executive said he is fed up with the way the United States is dealing with China in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic," the article began. There was no disclosure that Mr. Bennett had ordered it.

Mr. Bennett, a major donor to President Trump, also used the sites to lobby for a stimulus bill to help his company, according to documents. Mr. Bennett posted a link to one of the articles on Twitter.

Ashford received around \$70 million in federal loans intended for small businesses, making the publicly traded company the single largest recipient of such loans — and Mr. Bennett the subject of national anger.

In response, P.R. professionals began ordering positive articles about him on Mr. Timpone's sites, according to records in the publishing system. Eventually, Mr. Bennett returned the federal money.

But he was not done using Mr. Timpone's sites. Now Mr. Bennett owed money to creditors. One pitch attributed to him in the publishing system instructed a reporter to call one of his creditors and ask, "Why did you say you were going to help, but then don't help?"

A site called New York Business Daily ran the article, saying the creditor was squeezing the finances of a struggling Manhattan hotel.

What the article didn't mention: Mr. Bennett owned the hotel and dictated the article.

His spokeswoman said in a statement that Mr. Bennett "has no relationship with the websites." She added that he had spoken to numerous news outlets "to obtain economic aid for the hotel industry."

After The Times presented evidence that he directly ordered articles, lawyers representing Mr. Timpone sent The Times a cease and desist letter, demanding that it not publish the information.

Since Trump, G.O.P. Has Fizzled in N.Y.C.

By DANA RUBINSTEIN and AZI PAYBARAH

Over the course of two decades, the New York City Republican Party got two mayors elected in deep blue New York City. It was a neat trick made possible by the party's ability to toe a centrist line — conservative on the budget, liberal on social issues.

But that line has shifted in the era of President Trump, and so has the idea of a New York City Republican.

The Metropolitan Republican Club in Manhattan, whose members have included Theodore Roosevelt and Nelson A. Rockefeller, has in the last two years hosted talks by Steve Bannon; the Breitbart News editor, Joel Pollak; and the Proud Boys founder, Gavin McInnes.

Republicans are now outnumbered by Democrats in Manhattan by nearly eight to one, and some prominent New Yorkers like Joseph Lhota, the 2013 Republican candidate for mayor, have left the party.

"It had to do with Donald Trump, as head of the party," Mr. Lhota said. "I just couldn't deal with it."

Few things embody the change more than the Manhattan Republican Party, and the divergent paths of the city's two former Republican mayors from Manhattan: Michael R. Bloomberg, who is now a Democrat, and Rudolph W. Giuliani.

In a vitriolic speech in New York in September, Mr. Giuliani said that Mayor Bill de Blasio's biracial son should fear "another Black" more than a police officer, and that Black Lives Matter protesters are "cop killers" who might also want to kill white people.

"When you see a police officer killed, which you are watching, somebody is carrying out what Black Lives Matter asked them to do," Mr. Giuliani said. "Or if you see a white person killed, it could be that, too."

Mr. Giuliani made his remarks at a forum hosted by the Manhattan Republican Party, which is now run by the family of John Catsimatidis, a billionaire Republican grocery magnate who has run for mayor. He has given the majority of the party's recent political donations; his daughter, Andrea, 30, is the party chair.

Mr. Catsimatidis has evolved from a self-described undecided voter at the 2016 Republican convention to a full-throated Trump supporter in 2020.

"If you vote on personality, Trump loses. If you vote on performance, Trump wins," Mr. Catsimatidis said.

Ms. Catsimatidis also wholly embraces Trumpism, including the president's rhetoric about New York City, and saw Mr. Giuliani's recent speech as a way to highlight the city's perils in the time of Covid: the frustrated small business owners, the cuts to sanitation services, the rise in shootings.

The event "was our way of becoming more conspicuous," she said.

The party's politics have veered so far in the direction of Mr. Trump that they have become virtually unrecognizable to moderate Republicans of years past.

In interview after interview, formerly active Manhattan Republicans said their disaffection with the president prompted them to leave the party or withdraw from local activities. Several are now openly campaigning for former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

"It's been very sad to see what's happened," said John Ravitz, who chaired the Manhattan Republican Party in 2001 and 2002.

The party has a handful of elected officials in New York City, with most from Staten Island, including James S. Oddo, the borough president, and Nicole Malliotakis, a state assemblywoman who is trying to unseat Representative Max Rose in a congressional district that includes Staten Island and Bay

Ridge, Brooklyn.

She distanced herself from the president during her 2017 run for mayor, but now embraces him, boasting of Mr. Trump's "complete and total endorsement" in her race against Mr. Rose.

There are no Republicans from Manhattan in Congress, the City Council or the State Legislature.

The Republicans are thought to have just one potentially viable candidate this election in Manhattan: Lou Puliafito, a doorman who is running for Assembly in a district where the incumbent was thrown off the Democratic and Working Families Party ballot lines for filing her paperwork incorrectly.

Among the party's 11 long-shot candidates is Mike Zumbuskas, an Independence Party member whom the Manhattan Republicans cross-endorsed for State Senate.

He supports Mr. Trump's embrace of hydroxychloroquine as a treatment for coronavirus — which the president tested positive for early this month — despite a lack of scientific evidence that it's effective; argues New York's lockdown has been too onerous; and says the president's management of the pandemic has garnered undue criticism.

"If you look what he was doing behind the scenes, he was taking it seriously," Mr. Zumbuskas said. "He was making calls."

Not that Mr. Zumbuskas's views necessarily matter, from an electoral perspective.

"The candidates are almost beside the point in a place like Manhattan, because they're not viable up and down the ballot," said Neal Kwatra, a New York City Democratic strategist.

Rather, Mr. Kwatra said, the party has the potential to become a "fund-raising vehicle" or vanity project for party building, donor cultivation and political organizing for the Catsimatidis family writ large.

As of February, there were 109,269 voters registered in the Republican Party in Manhattan, compared to 832,312 registered Democrats. That's a nearly 8-to-1 ratio, versus the 6-to-1 ratio at the time Mr. Giuliani was elected.

"With a few exceptions, they're not putting up credible people," said Stu Loeser, a long-time adviser to Mr. Bloomberg. "Just being the party of, 'We support the cops no matter what,' and 'the other party supposedly opposes the cops no matter what,' that's not really a governing philosophy. That's a tactic."

Funding for the Republican Party in Manhattan has also tapered off in recent years. Of the two accounts controlled directly by the New York Republican County Committee, one has a \$1,500 debt, according to its filing in July; the other has nearly \$18,000. That second account, meant for housekeeping and party building purposes, raised nearly \$52,000 from individuals between February and July from just 16 donations. Nearly all of it — \$50,000 — came in two donations, both from Mr. Catsimatidis.

Ms. Catsimatidis, the Manhattan party chair, said that it is possible to support Mr. Trump while being a moderate. A supporter need not embrace all of his positions in the way she does, she contended.

But that opinion appears to be largely held by Trump Republicans. Andrew Sidamon-Eristoff, a former councilman from Manhattan's East Side and a Biden Republican, said the party has become woefully out of touch with centrists in New York City.

"If you're not even part of the conversation, the tendency is to start talking to yourself and to become inexorably more strident and more resistant to alternative ways of thinking, less empathetic," he said.

At the recent Manhattan G.O.P. event featuring Mr. Giuliani, Mr. Catsimatidis, who has said he may run for mayor again, referred to the homeless men living at an Upper West Side hotel as "criminals."



MARK LENNIHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Joseph Lhota left the Republican Party, saying he couldn't abide having President Trump as its standard-bearer.

If Roe v. Wade Ends, a ‘Tremendous Inequality’ in Access

This article is by **Quoctrung Bui**, **Claire Cain Miller** and **Margot Sanger-Katz**.

The almost-certain confirmation of Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court has increased the chances that Roe v. Wade will be weakened or overturned. If that were to happen, abortion access would decline in large regions of the country, a new data analysis shows.

Legal abortion access would be unchanged in more than half of states, but it would effectively end for those living in much of the American South and Midwest, especially those who are poor, according to the analysis. (The analysis incorporates more recent data on research we wrote about last year.)

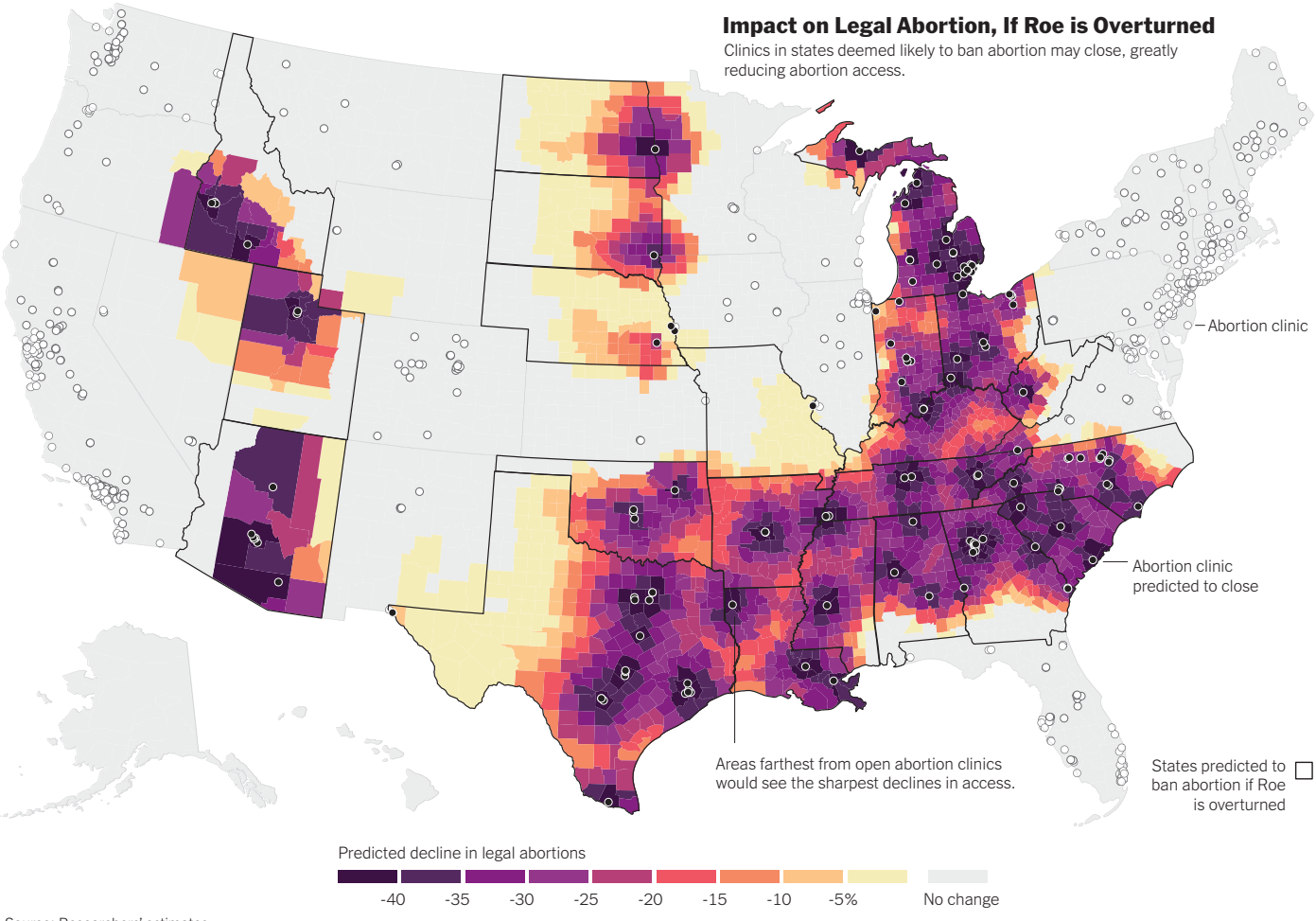
“A post-Roe United States isn’t one in which abortion isn’t legal at all,” said Caitlin Knowles Myers, an economist at Middlebury College and a co-author of the original research. She obtained and analyzed the new data for The New York Times this month. “It’s one in which there’s tremendous inequality in abortion access.”

Today, there is at least one abortion clinic in every state, and most women of childbearing age live within an hour’s drive or so of one, the analysis found. Without Roe, abortion would probably become illegal in 22 states. Forty-one percent of women of childbearing age would see the nearest abortion clinic close, and the average distance they would have to travel to reach one would be 280 miles, up from 36 miles now.

As distances to clinics increase, abortion rates decline, research shows. Women who can’t afford to travel to a legal clinic or arrange child care or leave from work for the trip are most affected. Also, remaining clinics would not necessarily be able to handle increased demand.

Without Roe, the number of legal abortions in the United States would be at least 14 percent lower, Professor Myers and her colleagues estimated. That could mean about 100,000 fewer legal abortions a year, they found. The number is impossible to predict precisely because new clinics could open on state borders, and some people may order abortion pills by mail or obtain illegal surgical abortions, which may be dangerous.

Travel distances could increase even if Roe weren’t overturned, because a more conservative court could decide to uphold state laws that decrease access to abortions, such as



Source: Researchers’ estimates

those that require abortion providers to have hospital admitting privileges, require women seeking abortions to wait for long intervals first or restrict the kinds of abortion procedures that are allowed.

Anti-abortion activists and politicians who have sought the elimination of Roe have long pinned their hopes on state legislatures to pass these kinds of laws, because passing abortion restrictions through Congress has proved difficult.

“It would be a whole lot better for abortion policy if the states were allowed to have their regulations stood up and unchallenged,” said Charmaine Yoest, the vice president for the Institute for Family, Community and Opportunity at the Heritage Foundation, and the former president of Americans United

for Life. “You would have the laws reflecting the folks in those states, and that’s what American federalism is supposed to be.”

Ms. Yoest noted that not every state that would pursue new abortion regulations would necessarily ban the procedure.

Long travel distances are already a challenge for women in some areas. In parts of Missouri and Mississippi, where state officials have worked hard to limit abortions, many women live 250 or more miles from the nearest abortion clinic, far enough that their access wouldn’t be changed much if abortion were outlawed. In other parts of the country, like the Northeast and the West Coast, where there is little appetite for abortion restrictions, abortion access is also unlikely to change.

Ten states, including Idaho and

Utah this year, have passed so-called trigger laws, which would automatically ban all abortions without Roe. An additional 12 states are considered highly likely to pass new abortion bans in a new legal environment, based on recent legislative action and state court rulings. Changes in state politics have made other states, like Wisconsin, less likely to do so.

“What’s interesting about the modeling is it’s less about Judge Barrett being confirmed to the Supreme Court than the importance of the state politics, and the state politics because that much more important in a world without Roe,” Professor Myers said.

The estimates are based on two elements: research of how recent clinic closings in Texas affected abortion rates among women whose driving distance

to providers increased, and two sets of assumptions about which states might outlaw abortion if Roe were overturned.

That research was published last year in the journal *Contraception* by Professor Myers; Rachel K. Jones, a sociologist at the Guttmacher Institute, a research group that supports reproductive rights; and Ushma Upadhyay, an associate professor at the University of California, San Francisco. It was updated for The New York Times this month by Professor Myers to account for changes in state laws and the locations of abortion clinics. She has been paid by abortion rights groups as an expert witness.

A recent study from a different research team on the effects of abortion clinic closings in Wisconsin showed a similar relation-

ship between increased drive times and the number of abortions performed at clinics.

Legal scholars cannot predict what the Supreme Court will do, and Judge Barrett in her confirmation hearings declined to give her views on abortion law.

“I think what’s more likely to happen, rather than have a full-on immediate reversal of Roe, is they take on some of these new regulations and see how much they can achieve without having that out-and-out reversal,” said Gillian Metzger, a professor of constitutional law at Columbia.

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From an Orphanage in Haiti to the Rose Garden: A New Life for Barrett Children

From Page A1

ship in their lives, profound culture shock and the inability of their new parents to handle the challenges. Some were institutionalized or sent into foster care.

And in perhaps the most unlikely development, one boy and his older adopted Haitian sister ended up in the Rose Garden last month, introduced to the world by President Trump as two of Judge Amy Coney Barrett’s seven children.

“She opened her home and her heart, and adopted two beautiful children from Haiti,” he said, introducing Judge Barrett as his nominee to replace Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the Supreme Court.

The orphanage, A New Arrival, was typical of many in Haiti. Food was in short supply, and many children weren’t literal orphans — their parents simply couldn’t afford to care for them.

Like most, it was basic, operating out of a four-bedroom house in Petionville, a suburb of Port-au-Prince, and had up to 40 children at a time, the former director, Rock Cayo, said in an interview. They looked forward to a better life with new families.

“That was the dream — to come to America,” said Jennifer Downard, 21, a business student and nursing assistant in Colorado who was adopted by a family in Washington state in 2008. “I was going to drink water, get food on the table, I would not be scared at night.”

Judge Barrett’s son, also named John Peter and then about 3 years old, was on that flight out of Haiti following the earthquake. He and his sister, Vivian, who was adopted from the same orphanage more than five years earlier, form a key part of the Barretts’ family story.

Judge Barrett has talked about their adoptions regularly in public speeches. She was inspired to adopt, she once explained, because “there are so many children in need.”

Just as everything with her

nomination, the adoptions have been hard to totally separate from the politics of the moment.

Some critics have noted the irony of a president who has worked to close the United States to disaster refugees and once referred to Haiti with an expletive lauding the Barretts’ adoptions. And the ongoing debate over international adoption has played out as well. Advocates hope the Barretts’ story will encourage other prospective parents to come

Curiosity from parents who adopted from the same orphanage.

forward. Detractors have criticized as “white saviorism” the judge’s public accounts of her children’s dire situations before they left Haiti.

A small group of families who adopted children from the same orphanage, some at the very same time, are asking more intimate questions.

“I’d be really interested to hear how the kids are,” said Cara Leadingham, a mother of 11 from Illinois who remembers holding “Little” John Peter during many visits to the orphanage while waiting for the adoption of her daughter to be finalized. Though she doesn’t agree with Judge Barrett’s political positions, nor with the timing of her nomination, she’d love to hear what the past decade has been like for the family.

“There are success stories and equally as many challenging stories,” said Ms. Leadingham.

Inspired to adopt by a couple they met in their marriage preparation course, Judge Barrett has said they chose Haiti because of its overwhelming poverty and proximity to the United States, so “we could go as a family and be involved in Haiti as the children got older.”

She chose a Montana-based international adoption agency, A New Arrival Inc., that added Haiti

to the dozen countries it worked with in 2003, when it hired Mr. Cayo to open a new orphanage there.

Neither the Barretts nor the White House would comment for this story. But in speeches, Judge Barrett and her husband, Jesse, have offered bleak glimpses of the orphanage.

While they were visiting Haiti in 2004, a child at the orphanage died, Mr. Barrett said in a speech about his wife at her investiture as a federal circuit judge in 2018. They expected their daughter Vivian to perish too — at 14 months, she “was wearing size 0 to 3 month old clothing because she was so malnourished,” Judge Barrett said in a public interview at the Notre Dame Club in Washington D.C. in 2019. Last week, while introducing her daughter to the Senate Judiciary Committee, she remarked that “we were told she would never talk or walk normally.”

“Now, she dead lifts as much as the male athletes in our gym and, I assure you, she has no trouble talking,” she said.

In 2019, Judge Barrett called the orphanage “wonderful” and said the nannies there “loved the children immensely.”

The three adoptees who talked to The New York Times remembered the place with mostly hard feelings.

“If I was to put it in one word, it’s jail,” said Libien Becker, a 20-year-old business and carpentry student at Montana Technical University in Butte, who was adopted by a Montana family after the earthquake.

Teachers came to the orphanage to give classes on basic literacy and math, and often the children played basketball in the courtyard. But they also recalled stretches of hunger and corporal punishment — which although outlawed in Haiti, is a common experience for 80 percent of the country’s children, according to Haiti’s 2016-17 national survey.

Mr. Cayo did not respond to the allegations of poor treatment at the orphanage, which has since been transformed into a school for poor children in the area.



Judge Amy Coney Barrett brought her seven children, including two adopted from Haiti, John Peter and Vivian, to the White House last month to a ceremony marking her nomination.

Many American parents who adopted from there said they’d been promised the process would take a year or so. But they described painfully waiting years because of Haitian bureaucracy and problems with the American agency, which faced lawsuits from at least two sets of parents. In both cases, the families reached legal agreements without going to trial.

In one case, Patrick Eibs and his wife at the time claimed the agency and its director Lorraine A. Jones, “misrepresented the legal stages of the adoption proceedings, misrepresented the defendants’ competence, forced the plaintiffs to pay for expenses in excess and beyond that provided by the parties’ written agreement and charged unreasonable fees for the services provided.”

A New Arrival Inc. was decertified in 2017 by an accreditation agency used by the U.S. State Department. That same year, it ceased operations, according to tax records.

The Barretts confronted their own problems adopting John Peter. During the 2019 interview, Judge Barrett said they’d been in the process when “paperwork things had just gone south.” They got a call from the adoption agency in 2009, delivering the dif-

icult news that it wouldn’t happen, she said.

“Mentally and emotionally, we had closed that door,” she said.

A month later, on Jan. 12, 2010, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake hit Haiti, killing hundreds of thousands of people and destroying large swaths of Port-au-Prince.

Six days later, the U.S. government announced it would lift visa requirements for orphans already in the process of adoption, as part of its disaster-relief efforts. The humanitarian parole program brought about 1,150 children from Haiti to the United States over the next few months — more than were adopted by American families in the previous three years — and was later criticized for insufficiently screening some children and their would-be parents in the rush. But, the government employees who oversaw it and many adopting parents considered it life-saving.

The Barretts got another call from the adoption agency, this one bearing good news: John Peter, could become part of the program.

“Will you still take him?” Judge Barrett recalled someone from the agency asking. “We said, ‘Of course.’”

The orphanage had been remarkably untouched by the earthquake. But the children were sleeping in a tent fashioned from

bedsheets and blankets in the courtyard, for fear of aftershocks, and their American parents spent sleepless nights worrying about their security.

One of the parents, Jacob Bissailon, jumped on a plane to the Dominican Republic and drove across the border into Haiti with the orphanage director, Mr. Cayo. Together, they spent a week recreating the dossiers of adopting parents that were buried in the rubble of government buildings — printing documents, photos and receipts to take to the American embassy in hopes of enrolling the children in the new program.

“Every single day, it would change — which kids were allowed to come home,” said Mr. Bissailon, who was in the process of adopting two children from the orphanage. One day, his daughter was approved, but not his son, he said. The next, it was the reverse.

On Jan. 24, he and Mr. Cayo drove a pickup truck jammed with children to the embassy for the final time — 19 were on the list that day, including Mr. Bissailon’s two children and the little boy who would join the Barrett family.

They were escorted by military personnel to the airport, loaded onto a military plane, ordered off the plane, and then told to board a charter. Mr. Bissailon said he didn’t know where the plane was destined until moments before it landed at Orlando Sanford International Airport.

Over the next day, the children were processed and released to their waiting, anxiety-worn parents, many of whom had been in Florida, trying to get their own flights to Haiti.

Jesse Barrett flew to Florida to meet John Peter and take him home to meet his large new family in South Bend, Ind. In her testimony last week, Judge Barrett recalled the boy’s initial reaction.

“Jesse, who brought him home, still describes the shock on JP’s face when he got off the plane in winter time Chicago,” she said. “Once that shock wore off, JP assumed the happy-go-lucky attitude that is still his signature trait.”

Susan C. Beachy and Harold Isaac contributed research.

2020 Election

Why These Voters, Who Spurned Clinton, Are Supporting Biden

From Page A1

more acceptable to them than Mrs. Clinton was, in ways large and small, personal and political, sexist and not, and those differences help them feel more comfortable voting for the Democratic nominee this time around.

Mr. Biden also benefits, of course, from the intense desire among Democrats to get President Trump out of office. And a majority of voters give the president low marks for his handling of the coronavirus pandemic, the dominant issue of the race. But a key distinction between 2020 and 2016 is that, four years ago, the race came down to two of the most disliked and polarizing candidates in American history, and one of them also faced obstacles that came with being a barrier-breaking woman.

Mr. Biden now leads Mr. Trump in many public polls by bigger margins than Mrs. Clinton had in 2016. In private polling and focus groups, voters express more positive views of Mr. Biden than of Mrs. Clinton, though they know far less about his decades in political office, according to strategists affiliated with both Democrats' campaigns.

Interviews with dozens of voters, union members and Democratic strategists reveal a party embracing Mr. Biden — a 77-year-old white man — as a familiar political pitch, though some bristled at what they saw as the gender bias in that assessment.

"The Republicans did a fantastic job of making Hillary Clinton seem like the devil for the last 20-plus years, so she was a hard sell," said Aaron Stearns, the Democratic chairman in Warren County in northwestern Pennsylvania. "It's just a lot easier with Joe Biden because he's a guy and he's an old white guy. I hate saying that, but it's the truth."

Even as Mr. Biden proposes a significantly bigger role for government than Mrs. Clinton did four years ago, some voters view the Democratic nominee as more moderate compared to how they saw her. And they don't see him as being as divisive a political figure as they did Mrs. Clinton, despite Mr. Biden's long record of legislative battles.

"I didn't like Hillary — I felt that she was a fraud, basically, lying and conniving," said Sarah Brown, 27, of Rhinelander, Wis., who regrets her 2016 vote for Mr. Trump and plans to vote for Mr.

Amanda Cox contributed reporting.

Biden. "I'm not a super big fan of him, either, but the two options — I guess it's the lesser evil."

Since 2019, Mr. Biden has held an advantage of four to eight points over Mrs. Clinton in key swing districts, according to an analysis by John Hagner, a partner at Clarity Campaign Labs, a Democratic data analytics firm.

Polling shows Mr. Biden scoring higher than Mrs. Clinton among a wide range of demographic groups — most notably older voters, white voters and suburbanites. But his advantage is stark among those who sat out the 2016 election or backed third-party candidates.

Mr. Biden leads Mr. Trump, 49 percent to 19 percent, among likely voters who backed third-party candidates in 2016, according to recent polling of battleground states by The New York Times and Siena College. Among registered voters who sat out the 2016 election, Mr. Biden leads by nine percentage points, the polls found.

At times, Mr. Biden has been notably critical of his party's 2016 nominee, arguing that she lacked "vision" and failed to connect with working-class voters, and openly relitigating what he saw Mrs. Clinton's debate missteps.

He has also noted "unfair" sexism against her, adding at an event in Iowa, "That's not going to happen with me."

Mrs. Clinton, too, has reflected on how she was perceived during the race.

"You should also be prepared for the slights, the efforts to diminish you — you personally, you as a woman," she advised Senator Kamala Harris on Mrs. Clinton's podcast before the vice-presidential debate.

In 2016, Mr. Trump's appeal as a political leader was intriguing to many voters, given that he was an outsider and that few expected him to win, while Mrs. Clinton was a Washington veteran.

"Always institutionally, people want to get change," said former Gov. Terry McAuliffe of Virginia, a close friend of the Clintons. "Trump was anti-establishment, anti-swamp. They now have seen the horror that this man has done to our country."

Yet, even as votes are being cast in 2020, Democrats still worry about some of the reasons for their loss in 2016.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign was criticized over its ground game in some battleground states; Mr. Biden's campaign avoided direct contact with voters for months. Mrs. Clinton was attacked for keeping a lighter schedule than



Thomas Moline voted for the Libertarian candidate in 2016, saying the Clintons had left "a bad taste" in his mouth. "I identify more with Biden," he said. Nikki Baker, right, voted for Jill Stein, but said, "I didn't see things as being as dire as I do in this election."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAROLINE YANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Trump at times; Mr. Biden made his first visit of the year to Wisconsin in September.

But Mr. Biden has never been torn down like Mrs. Clinton, who had faced more than two decades of unrelenting G.O.P. attacks by the time she ran.

Internal polling conducted for the Bernie Sanders campaign found that Mr. Biden had a reservoir of good will that Mrs. Clinton did not possess.

"He was a hard guy to hit," said Ben Tulchin, Senator Sanders's pollster. "There's not a lot of passion for him, but they like him."

Republicans, too, have found Mr. Biden to be a much tougher target. Even now, four years after she last ran for any office, Mrs. Clinton has appeared in more Republican ads attacking down-ballot Democratic candidates than has Mr. Biden, according to data compiled by Advertising Analytics. In the final weeks of his campaign, Mr. Trump has tried to reignite controversy over Mrs. Clinton's emails, blasting out fundraising requests with the subject line: "HILLARY CLINTON."

Accounts of focus groups conducted by the two campaigns underscore how perceptions of Mr. Biden and Mrs. Clinton are shaped by voters' genders.

The quality of Mrs. Clinton's that emerged as the most appealing in 2016 groups was not her accomplishments but that she had set aside her own ambitions to

serve in President Obama's administration, according to people involved with the campaign.

Winning over female voters entailed walking a particularly tortured path, former campaign aides say.

"She had to show more experience than they did, but not so much experience that they couldn't relate to her," said Jennifer Palmieri, the communications director for Clinton's campaign. "We kept running into those conflicts in people's own heads."

In focus groups conducted by the Biden campaign after he won the party nomination, voters were generally unfamiliar with his achievements but far less conflicted about him personally, strategists said.

"Biden didn't have as much definition as I thought he would have had in the electorate," said Steve Schale, a veteran Florida Democratic operative who is chief executive of Unite the Country, a super PAC backing Mr. Biden. "They just see him as a nice guy."

Mrs. Clinton and many others believe she faced a more difficult political calculus because of her gender, indicating in a tweet after the first debate that she would have liked to tell Mr. Trump to "Shut up, man" — as Mr. Biden did — but had been constrained by how those attacks might backfired against her.

"When you've never had a woman president, it's hard to

imagine what that's going to look like," said Stephanie Schriock, the president of Emily's List, an organization that seeks to elect Democratic women.

Unlike Mrs. Clinton, who was known as a workhorse legislator and secretary of state and projected that image, Mr. Biden spent decades cultivating a brand as just another guy riding home on the Amtrak.

"There's no doubt there was an element of sexism, but also there was a sense that she was looking down on people," said David Axelrod, Mr. Obama's campaign strategist. "Biden, his cultural sensibilities are different."

Voters who rejected Mrs. Clinton and who now back Mr. Biden present varying rationales. Midwestern union workers, most of them men, said they had found it hard to identify with Mrs. Clinton, never mind picture her as president.

"I have more faith in Joe Biden than Hillary because I like his background, where he grew up," said Dave Clawson, the Democratic treasurer of the United Steelworkers chapter in Lorain, Ohio. "He's middle class, worked his way up. I saw her as not a very nice person. I don't know how to explain it."

In focus groups, Black voters who sat out 2016 said they hadn't believed that Mrs. Clinton would tangibly improve their lives, said Adrienne Shropshire, the execu-

tive director of BlackPAC, a super PAC that aims to energize Black voters.

"With Biden, their assumption is he will mitigate their pain and suffering," Ms. Shropshire said.

Democrats say Mr. Biden doesn't provoke the same level of antipathy in rural areas, where vandalism of Mrs. Clinton's yard signs was rampant four years ago.

Rich Fitzgerald, the county executive of Allegheny County, Pa., which includes Pittsburgh and its suburbs, said he sees Biden signs in conservative areas where he had never spotted support for Mrs. Clinton.

"Seeing people that live in some of these Trump counties that feel confident enough to put a Joe Biden sign in their yard just tells you something," he said.

Liberal Democrats, too, are showing more willingness to set aside their ideological differences, following the lead of Senator Sanders, who quickly backed Mr. Biden after ending his primary bid.

"In the last election, I didn't see things as being as dire as I do in this election, and I didn't think that Donald Trump could win," said Nikki Baker, 66, a Minneapolis waitress who voted for Mrs. Stein in 2016. "When Angela Davis and Noam Chomsky are saying you have to vote for Joe Biden, then I have to vote for Joe Biden."

Trump Has Alienated Some Mormons, and They Could Help Lift Biden in Arizona

By HANK STEPHENSON

TUCSON — For the better part of a century, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have made their political home under the Republican Party's tent, motivated by conservative beliefs rooted in the family values, personal liberty and economic frugality of their faith.

But some church members now find themselves in a political quandary: They're still Republicans, but they no longer fit in with the party as exemplified by President Trump, who for them represents a hard departure from the church's teachings on sex, crude language, empathy and humility.

In Arizona — the only state up for grabs that has a significant Latter-day Saint population — a growing number are finding refuge in Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic presidential nominee.

"I think the White House should be worried about L.D.S. voters, especially in Arizona," said Quin Monson, a Utah-based pollster, political scientist and author of a book about the politics of the religion.

Most church members are still likely to support the president again this year, Mr. Monson said, noting that party loyalty is ingrained in the religion. They agree with Mr. Trump more than they disagree with him, and for many, the issue of abortion is a litmus test that few Democratic candidates can pass.

Still, exit polling from 2016 showed 56 percent of church members supported Mr. Trump, far less than the support he received from members of other faiths. Mr. Trump, for instance, won almost 80 percent of the white evangelical Christian vote.

Even a small shift in Latter-day Saints' voting patterns could have a large impact in Arizona. There are about 437,000 members of the faith in the state, though that number includes children; Mr. Trump won by just 91,000 votes in 2016. With well educated suburbanites already moving away from the

president, the race is expected to be considerably closer this year.

Despite their reservations about Mr. Trump in 2016, members of the faith largely fell into familiar voting patterns, supporting Mr. Trump or begrudgingly casting their votes for a third-party candidate.

But Mr. Biden doesn't cause the same reluctance among some Latter-day Saints as Hillary Clinton did. They like his temperament and personality, arguing that the warmth and empathy he displays much more closely mirrors the behaviors that the church demands of its followers than Mr. Trump's grating style.

Rob Taber, the head of the LDS Democrats of America, has been courting Latter-day Saints for the Democratic Party since 2012, when Mitt Romney, perhaps the world's most famous church member, was the Republican nominee.

His said his job had become considerably easier in recent years.

He says he understands how isolating it can be for church members who don't support the Republican nominee, and he is trying to create "a home for the politically homeless" in the Biden campaign.

"We like to say, converts are welcome," he said. "But this election, visitors are welcome."

Although the current Supreme Court vacancy could have the potential to bring more Latter-day Saints home to the Republican Party, Matt Miles, a political scientist at Brigham Young University in Idaho, said that if it was filled before the election, as expected, members of the faith who were opposed to Mr. Trump would have less incentive to jump back into his camp.

"Voters don't reward politicians for things they've done in the past, they vote for things that are going to happen in the future," he said.

Kirk Adams, a church member who served as chief of staff to Gov. Doug Ducey of Arizona, a Republican, and was the former speaker of the state's House of Representatives, agreed that the motivation



CASSIDY ARAIZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dan Barker with his wife, Nan, in Gilbert, Ariz. He said President Trump did not provide the kind of moral leadership he seeks.

would diminish once Judge Amy Coney Barrett was confirmed. But he said that for now, having the Supreme Court nomination and the issue of abortion front and center helped Republicans to make the race about more traditional conservative issues like abortion rather than just supporting Mr. Trump.

Four years ago, Dan Barker, a retired state court of appeals judge, and a Republican, couldn't bring himself to support Mr. Trump, who he said was not capable of the kind of moral leadership that he wanted in a president. For the same reason, he couldn't support Mrs. Clinton. Instead, he wrote in Mr. Romney on his ballot. "This year is different for two reasons," he said. "I have stronger feelings about what would happen to our country with four more years of our current president, and Joe Biden is not Hillary Clinton."

He and his wife Nan, also a Republican, decided to put a sign for the Democrat in their yard this year, but they didn't want people to think they had abandoned the Republican Party. So they printed signs that said "Arizona Republicans for Biden" that they could give to friends.

Mr. Barker said he was not trying to persuade fellow members of the faith to join their cause — he was trying to embolden them to do what he believed many already wanted to do.

"We're saying you're not alone," he said.

There is a large group of Latter-day Saints whose members don't like Mr. Trump's style, but they say his policies on abortion and conservative court appointments outweigh their personal distaste for him. For many of them, supporting the president's re-election is an easy decision.

Justin Olson, an elected utility regulator and former state lawmaker who was invited to be part of the president's Latter-day Saint coalition in Arizona, is solidly behind the president now, though he said he was initially hesitant to support Mr. Trump four years ago. He was suspicious that Mr. Trump wasn't a real conservative and wouldn't follow through on the policies that he had espoused on the campaign trail. But the president has not disappointed him, Mr. Olson said.

"The question comes down to a question of policy versus personality," he said. "And to me, policy matters most because it's going to

impact our country for generations to come."

Mr. Biden frequently talks about his Catholic faith on the campaign trail, telling of how it helped him survive the death of his first wife and child and, years later, his adult son.

Myrna Sheppard, a retired teacher and former school board member, said Mr. Biden's orations on his faith touched her deeply as someone who has also lost a child.

"I was moved to tears over that," she said. "And I thought, Wow, this guy gets it. He gets me. And Trump is the exact opposite. He doesn't even have the capacity for empathy."

The 2016 election was the first time in her life that she didn't support the Republican nominee. But like Mr. Barker, she couldn't bring herself to vote for Mrs. Clinton, either.

Instead, she backed a write-in candidate, Evan McMullin, who made an 11th hour independent bid for the presidency from his home state of Utah and earned 21.5 percent of the vote there to Mr. Trump's 45.5 percent. Mr. McMullin, a church member, has said he plans to vote for Mr. Biden this year.

Mrs. Sheppard celebrated Mr. Trump's judicial appointments, but his anti-abortion policies aren't enough to redeem his presidency, which has been marred by his disrespect toward women, people of color and the office, she said.

This year, she is supporting Mr. Biden, despite her reservations about his liberal policies.

"Honestly, I was tempted to do something like write in Mitt Romney," she said. "But my husband said, 'No, we are a swing state and we need to take a stand.'"

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints diverges from the president on several policy fronts. It takes a more empathetic stance on immigration and refugees, positions informed by its global reach, legion of missionaries and the church's own history as an unwelcome religious minor-

ity in the country.

When Mr. Trump, as a candidate, called for a ban on Muslims entering the United States, the church took the unusual step of issuing a statement that said, although it is neutral in regard to party politics and election campaigns, it "is not neutral in relation to religious freedom."

More recently, the church reiterated that believers should volunteer their time, talents and friendship to refugees immigrating to the country.

Christie Black, a 36-year-old Latter-day Saints church member from Mesa, has taken that call to heart, volunteering with Syrian refugees in Arizona and forming deep relationships with refugee families.

A staunch Republican, she didn't support either party's nominee in 2016. Since then, her political views have shifted and she first became an independent, then joined the Democrats.

Mr. Trump's demagoguery of Muslims and refugees is directly at odds with her faith, she said.

"We're a global church and his kind of isolationism is contrary to who we are as members of the faith," she said.

Bob Worsley, a former Republican state lawmaker and founder of SkyMall magazine, said that although he supports many of Mr. Trump's conservative policies, his religious beliefs prevent him from backing the president's campaign of anger, fear and vitriol.

"That's not what I'm taught in the pews of my church," he said. "Anger and discord is considered to come from another influence, not God."

He and his wife, Christi, will vote for Mr. Biden, the first time either of them has voted for a Democratic presidential candidate.

"For almost four years, we've lived through nothing but drama," Mr. Worsley said. "I'm ready for a no-drama president again, and I really don't care which party he comes from."

Ed Benguiat, 92, Revered Designer Of Typefaces, Dies

A Hand in Developing Over 600 Typefaces

By NEIL GENZLINGER

Ed Benguiat, a celebrated graphic designer known for his expertise in typefaces — including the one you see at the top of the print and web editions of this newspaper — started his design career in a not-so-celebrated post at a movie magazine publisher.

“My job was to be a cleavage re-toucher,” he recalled in a video interview with the Type Directors Club. “My job was to take it out — take the cleavage out, remove it.”

It was the years after World War II, an era of the restrictive Hays Code in the movies.

“I was very good with an air-brush and buying doilies in the 5 and 10,” he said, strategically placed doilies being key to the cleavage removal process.

Mr. Benguiat went on to more sophisticated work. He became one of the go-to designers of the second half of the last century, especially in matters of typography. His hand was behind more than 600 typefaces, several of which bear his name (which is pronounced ben-GAT). The Telegraph of Britain, in a 2016 article about him prompted by the striking use of one of his fonts (ITC Benguiat) in the title sequence of the hit Netflix series “Stranger Things,” called him “one of the type industry’s greats.”

Mr. Benguiat died on Thursday at his home in Cliffside Park, N.J. He was 92.

His wife of 38 years, Elisa (Halperin) Benguiat, confirmed the death.

Mr. Benguiat was an important figure in the design world for a number of reasons. According to his citation in the Art Directors Club Hall of Fame, where he was inducted in 2000, he helped establish the International Typeface Corporation, the first independent licensing company for type designers, and became its vice president. He also taught for almost 50 years at the School of Visual Arts in Manhattan.

But it was his painstaking work designing new typefaces and modifying existing ones that made him a revered figure in the business, and that reached the public eye, although the public rarely knew his role. He designed logotypes for companies including Ford and AT&T and for Esquire, Look, McCall’s and other publications. His typefaces were seen in movies including “Super Fly” (1972) and “Planet of the Apes” (1968).

Mr. Benguiat understood the intricacies of a typeface in a way that today’s computer users, with countless fonts at their disposal, generally do not. He knew that a successful design wasn’t merely in the shaping of individual letters; it was in things like the spacing between those letters. And he knew that what looks good on a computer screen might not work when blown up to the size of a marquee or a billboard.

“At three feet high, the serif of a face like Bodoni is going to be two inches thick,” he told Macworld in 2001, referring to a popular typeface. “Someone has to fix it. I get called to do that.”

One such “fixer” assignment, in 1967, was for The New York Times. Louis Silverstein, the paper’s promotion art director at the time, was given the task of revisiting the nameplate, which had been tweaked over the previous century but remained a distinctive calling card. Mr. Silverstein tweaked it anew.

“To strengthen the logo, I redrew it,” he wrote later, “making the thicks thicker and the thins thinner.”

“I drew the new logo on tracing paper,” he added, “and hired Ed Benguiat to do the actual ink drawing. Ed was perhaps the most accomplished letterer in the country.”

One result of that redesign was the disappearance of the period that for decades had come after the word “Times” in the logo. (Some readers mourned its loss.

“No tittle in your title?” one wrote.) In the Macworld interview, Mr. Benguiat recalled the Times logo assignment this way: “Lou Silverstein was the art director. His thought was, ‘Change it.’ My thought was, ‘OK, we’ll change it — but if we change it, nobody will recognize it.’ So all I did was take it and fix it.”

Ephram Edward Benguiat was born on Oct. 27, 1927, in Brooklyn. His mother, Rose (Nahum) Benguiat, was a driver for the Red Cross, and his father, Jack, was design director at Bloomingdale’s; Mr. Benguiat often spoke of his childhood fascination with his father’s pens and paintbrushes.

Some articles about Mr. Benguiat over the years said that one of his first efforts at tweaking type was when he forged a birth certificate to make himself appear old enough to join the Army during World War II, but in a 2017 talk at the Type Directors Club, he corrected that; it was his father who did the forging, he said. It was good enough to get him into the Army Air Forces, and during the war he was stationed in Italy, serving first as a radio operator on a bomber and then doing photo reconnaissance.

Mr. Benguiat had been playing the drums since his father bought him a drum set at age 10, and under the name Eddie (or sometimes E.D.) Benart, he played with various jazz ensembles, including those of Woody Herman and Stan Kenton. But the work lost its allure.

“One day I went to the musician’s union to pay dues and I saw all these old people who were playing bar mitzvahs and Greek weddings,” he said. “It occurred to me that one day that’s going to be me, so I decided to become an illustrator.”

An establishment near one of the clubs where he played beckoned.

“There was a sign on Fifth Avenue; it said, ‘Draw me,’” he said in the 2017 talk. “So I went upstairs and I registered.”

It was the Workshop School of Advertising Art, where he studied layout, design, typography and calligraphy. The cleavage-covering job, he said, developed into something more by happenstance.

“The lettering man was gone, and something was missing,” he recalled. “I said, ‘I can do it,’ and I did it, and that’s what started the ball rolling.”

Eventually he had enough skills to be hired, in 1953, by Esquire magazine, and in 1962 he joined Photo-Lettering Inc., a typesetting company, as typographic design director. He developed some 400 typefaces there.

In 1971 he joined the newly established International Typeface, making a quick impact there by retooling the typeface Souvenir. His revised version became immensely popular.

As for his own typefaces, Mr. Benguiat said that developing one from scratch could take him a year or more. He wasn’t hostile to computers when they arrived and changed how graphic design was done, but he maintained that good design started with a good hand.

“If you can’t draw a shape that’s pleasing on a piece of paper,” he told Macworld, “how the hell are you going to do it on the screen?”

In a 1989 interview with The Times, he put it another way. “The most beautiful thing in the world,” he said, “is a blank piece of paper.”

In addition to his wife, Mr. Benguiat is survived by a granddaughter and two great-grandchildren. A son from an earlier marriage, Jon, died in January.

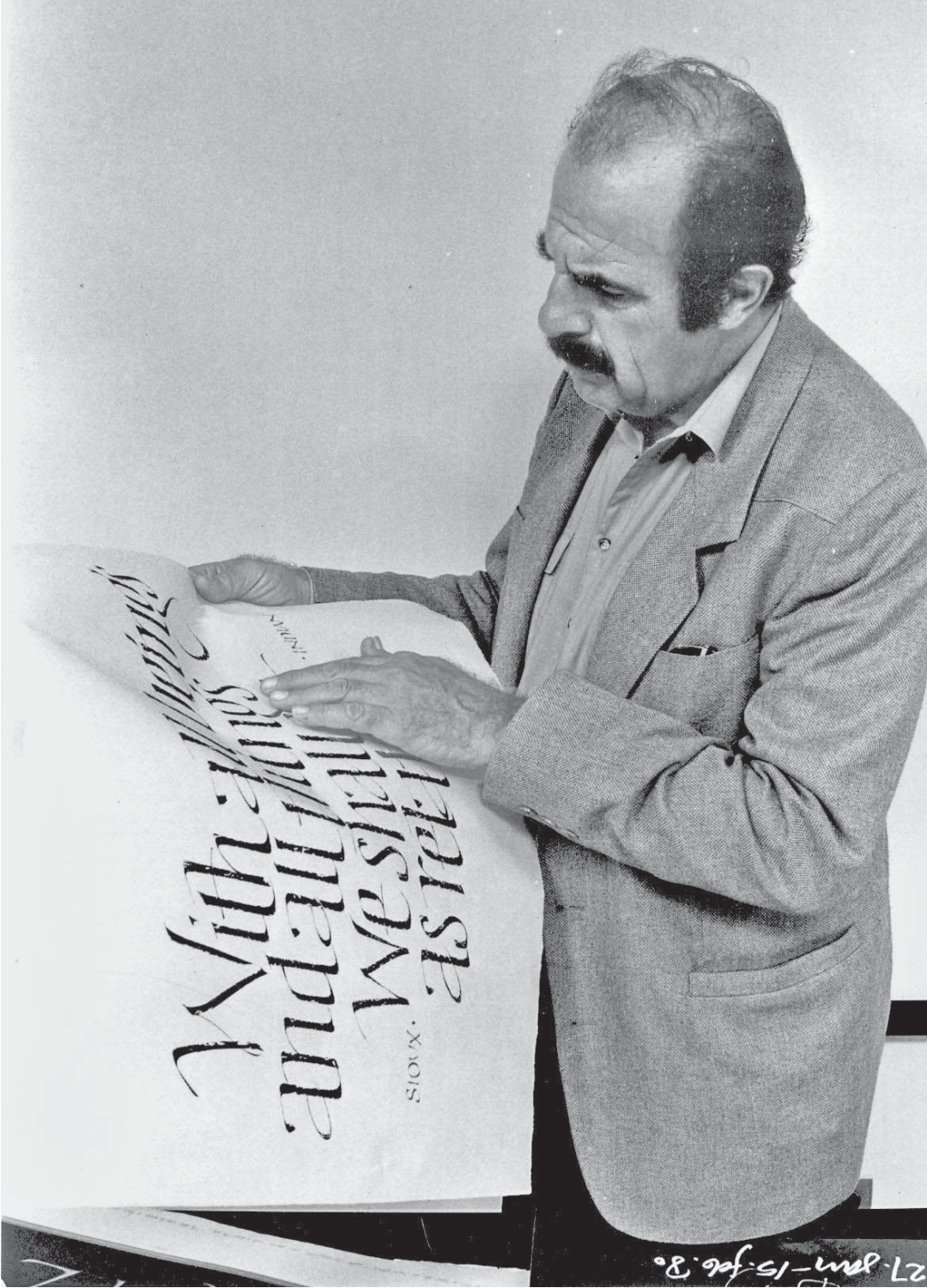
In the Type Directors Club video, Mr. Benguiat said he saw a connection between his early career as a musician and his later one.

“Music is placing sounds, to me, in their proper order so they’re pleasing to the ear,” he said. “That’s all. What is graphic design? Placing things in their proper order so they’re pleasing to the eye.”

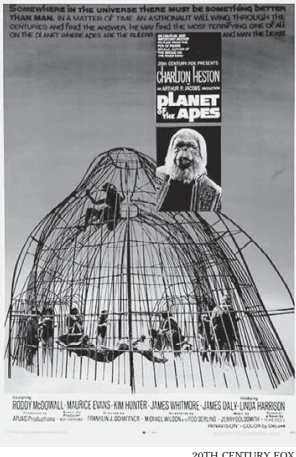
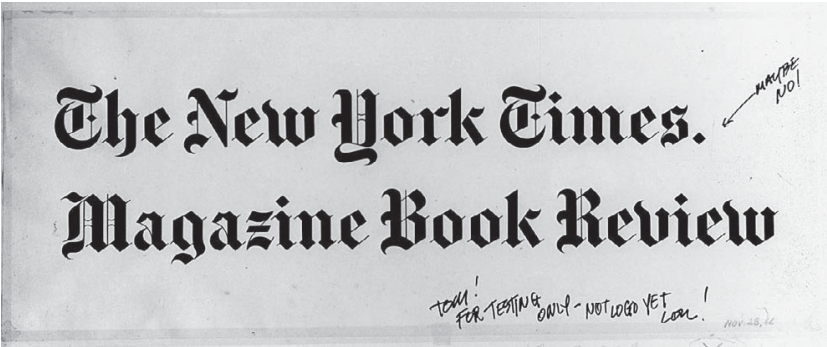


MILTON GLASER DESIGN STUDY CENTER AND ARCHIVES/VISUAL ARTS FOUNDATION

As for his own typefaces, Mr. Benguiat said that developing one from scratch could take him a year or more. He became one of the go-to designers of the second half of the last century, especially in matters of typography.



Mr. Benguiat in an undated photo. “The most beautiful thing in the world,” he once said, “is a blank piece of paper.” Of his role in redesigning The New York Times’s logo in 1967, he said, “My thought was, ‘OK, we’ll change it — but if we change it, nobody will recognize it. So all I did was take it and fix it.’” Mr. Benguiat’s typefaces were also seen in “Planet of the Apes” and other movies.



Ruth Kluger, Who Wrote a Haunting Holocaust Memoir, Is Dead at 88

By SAM ROBERTS

Ruth Kluger, whose unforgiving memoir of growing up Jewish in Nazi-occupied Vienna and escaping death in a concentration camp unsentimentally redefined the conventional mythos of the heroic Holocaust survivor, died on Oct. 5 at her home in Irvine, Calif. She was 88.

The cause was complications of bladder cancer, her sons, Daniel and Percy Angress, said.

Published in English in 2001, “Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered” spared no one with its blunt and haunting narrative — not her cultured neighbors who stopped suppressing their latent anti-Semitism when Germany annexed Austria; not her adult relatives who she believed should have foreseen the “final solution” for European Jews and fled the

‘We survivors are not responsible for forgiveness.’

continent with their families; not her liberators who swiftly wearied of hearing about the Holocaust; not even her tormented self.

“We survivors are not responsible for forgiveness,” she once told reporters in Austria. “I perceived resentment as an appropriate feeling for an injustice that can never be atoned for.”

She was 6 when the Nazis marched into Vienna. Her father fled to France, where he was deported and later killed. Her half brother, who was six years older and whom she idolized, was also murdered. She and her mother labored in several concentration camps, where she survived first by lying about her age and then by escaping from a forced march ordered by their German guards as the war was ending.

Mother and daughter immigrated to America, where Dr. Kluger would ultimately become a professor of German literature. She was, she wrote, “impatient and absent-minded, prone to drop things intentionally or through clumsiness, even breakables like dishes and love affairs; a woman who is perennially on the move, changing jobs and homes at the drop of a hat and inventing rea-

sons afterward while she is packing; a person who runs away as soon as she gets nervous, long before she smells danger.”

“Running away was the best thing I ever did, ever do,” she wrote. “You feel alive when you run away. It’s the ultimate drug, in my experience.”

Her memoir recounted a symbiotic but tense relationship with her often depressed mother, as well as generational conflicts over strategy and survival. “There were good reasons my mother lost her mind,” Dr. Kluger said in an interview with the German magazine *Der Spiegel* in 2006.

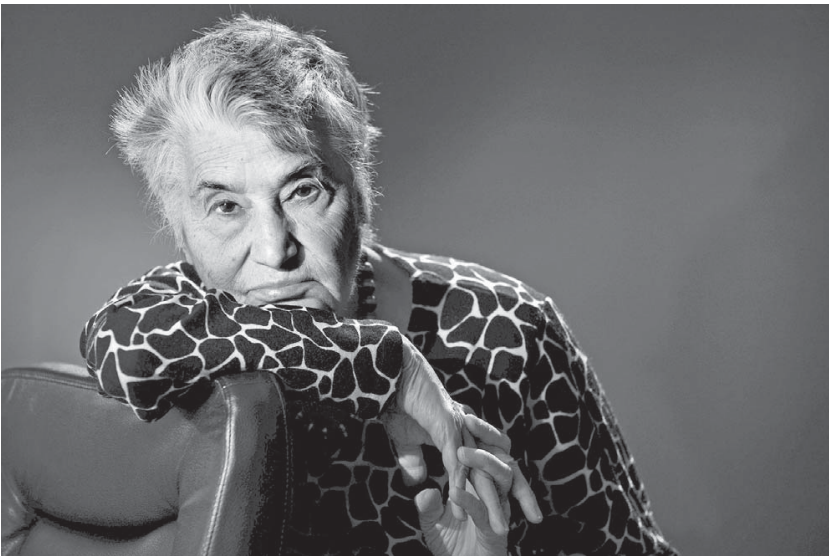
“Still Alive” distinguished itself in the Holocaust canon on several counts. Dr. Kluger did not reflexively equate mere survival with a happy ending to her horror story, and her narrative, through a woman’s experience and a feminist perspective, was unconventional. “It is wise, witty, blunt, brutally honest and unsentimental, and as moving as only the naked personal truth, and its bold, razor-sharp analysis, can be,” *The Guardian* wrote of Dr. Kluger’s book. “She doesn’t insist on being right, but she does insist on being heard.”

The Washington Post book critic Jonathan Yardley called it “an act not of running away but of confrontation, of facing her past head-on and allowing no rationalization or romanticization of it.” Lore Dickstein, reviewing it in *The New York Times*, was less impressed: She criticized Dr. Kluger’s “outdated feminism” and said her troubled relationship with her mother “clouds much of the narrative of this otherwise stark, moving book.”

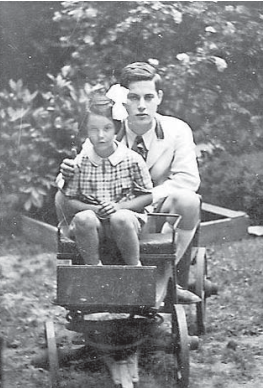
Ruth Susan Kluger was born on Oct. 30, 1931, in Vienna to Dr. Viktor Kluger, a gynecologist, and Alma (Gredinger) Kluger, a homemaker, who had a son from an earlier marriage.

After the German annexation of Austria in March 1938, Jews were barred from public schools. Ruth’s father was allowed to treat only Jewish patients and was imprisoned for illegally performing an abortion on a destitute non-Jew who had pleaded with him for help.

After he was released and fled to France, she often wondered why he left without his family. “Are you so ignorant that you have to ask that?” she recalled a cousin asking her years later. “Who would have thought then that chil-



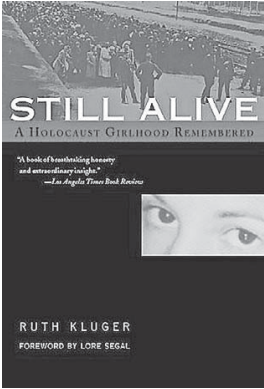
DANIEL A. ANDERSON, UCI COMMUNIC



VIA DANIEL ANGRESS



VIA DANIEL ANGRESS



THE FEMINIST PRESS AT CUNY

From top: Ruth Kluger in an undated photo; young Ruth with her half brother, George, who was killed by the Nazis; Ruth in Vienna at around age 6; and her book that was called “brutally honest.”

dren and women were in danger?”

“My father was in danger,” she said, “so he had to go.”

As a child she might have been repatriated to Britain, but her mother insisted on remaining in Vienna, she wrote, until 1942, when they were transported first to Theresienstadt, the model camp exhibited to Red Cross inspectors, and later to Auschwitz-Birkenau and Christianstadt.

Begrudgingly accepting her mother’s advice, which was also validated by another prisoner

working as a clerk, she gave her age to the guards as 15 instead of 12, which qualified her for forced labor instead of extermination.

As the war was ending, she remembered her mother telling the first American soldier they encountered that they had escaped from a concentration camp. “His gesture was unmistakable,” she wrote. “He put his hands over his ears and turned away. My mother translated. He had had his fill of people who claimed they had been in the camps.”

“Here was my first American,

and he deliberately closed his ears,” she recalled. “One thing, I figured, was certain: This war hadn’t been fought for our sake.”

After the war, she studied philosophy and history at the Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule in Regensburg while her mother worked as an interpreter. In 1947 they moved to New York, where Ruth graduated with a bachelor’s degree in English from Hunter College in 1950. She worked as a librarian and earned a master’s in English and a doctorate in German literature from the

Margaret Nolan, 76, Actress Painted Gold for a 007 Film

By CHRISTOPHER MELE

Margaret Nolan, a stage and screen actress whose gold-painted body was used as a canvas to project the opening credits of the James Bond film “Goldfinger,” and who was also briefly seen in the Beatles movie “A Hard Day’s Night,” died on Oct. 5 at her home in Belsize Park, London. She was 76.

The cause was cancer, her son Oscar Deeks said.

In a career predominantly in the 1960s and ’70s, Ms. Nolan also appeared in numerous BBC television productions and in films including “No Sex Please, We’re British” (1973) and “Carry On Girls” (1973).

In “A Hard Day’s Night” (1964), she had an uncredited but memorable role as the elegant young woman seated next to Paul McCartney’s grandfather at a casino.

But it was the opening title sequence of “Goldfinger” (1964), which was projected onto Ms. Nolan’s body as if it were a screen, that brought her fame.

“Squeezed into a gold leather bikini, her skin painted the same shimmering hue, the statuesque starlet Margaret Nolan (41-23-37) stood still while scenes from the just-finished James Bond movie

‘Goldfinger’ were projected onto her curves,” *The New York Times* reported in 2005 about the film shoot, which it also described as “long and meticulous.”

The movie’s title sequence went on to be a featured exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 2012-13.

In an archived version of her official website, Ms. Nolan described how she was “quite unexpectedly shot into the limelight” by the movie when she was only 20.

The filmmakers wanted her to be the body for the title sequence, but she agreed to do it only if she were given a role in the movie. She ended up playing a masseuse named Dink who appears briefly with James Bond, played by Sean Connery.

Ms. Nolan’s character in “Goldfinger” was not to be confused with the character who is completely painted in gold and dies of “skin suffocation.” That character, Jill Masterson, was played by Shirley Eaton. (That scene prompted false accounts that the actress had died during the filming as a result of the paint.)

Ms. Nolan turned down a two-year contract to publicize the film because she said she would find it difficult to live down such attention and wanted to be taken seriously as an actress.

“As it transpired, I couldn’t ‘live



AF ARCHIVE/ALAMY

Sean Connery and Margaret Nolan in “Goldfinger.” She agreed to appear in the opening for a part.

it down’ anyway and to this day get regular fan mail from Bond fans!” she wrote.

Margaret Ann Nolan was born in the Hampstead area of London on Oct. 29, 1943. Her father, Jack Nolan, was a clerk in the British Army, and her mother, Molly, was a psychiatric nurse. Her mother relocated the family to Waterford, Ireland, during World War II.

The family returned to Hampstead in 1946, and Ms. Nolan was training to be a teacher when she

met her first husband, Tom Kempinski, who was then an actor with the National Theater.

“He convinced me that I could be an actress,” she wrote on her website.

She gave up acting in the late 1980s to focus on homemaking and caring for her two sons. In the early ’90s she moved to Andalusia, Spain, where she took up drawing and painting.

Her marriage to Mr. Kempinski ended in divorce, as did a second

marriage, to Mike O’Sullivan. In addition to her son, Ms. Nolan is survived by her partner, Colin Deeks; another son, Luke O’Sullivan; and a sister, Geraldine Ross.

She began making photomontages from some of her earlier portraits and had her work featured in exhibitions. She also became politically active in the Workers Revolutionary Party, a British Trotskyist group, her son Mr. Deeks said.

She developed a passion for

University of California, Berkeley.

Her marriage in 1953 to Werner T. Angress, who taught European history, ended in divorce. In addition to her sons, she is survived by four grandchildren.

She taught at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, the University of Kansas, the University of Cincinnati, the University of Virginia and Princeton. She first joined the University of California, Irvine, faculty in 1976, then left for Princeton, but returned in 1986. She retired in 1994.

In the late 1980s, Dr. Kluger was directing the university’s Education Abroad Program in Göttingen, Germany, when she was struck by a bicycle and entered into a coma. When she emerged, her suppressed memories of the Holocaust were unleashed. She went on to write her autobiography, published as “To Continue to Live: A Childhood” in German in 1992 and in English nearly a decade later.

“It is breathtakingly honest,” said Peter Fritzsche, a history professor at the University of Illinois and a family friend. “She was a survivor, but also resisted as well as recognized the notion that her memoir had a ‘happy end.’”

Dr. Kluger urged her readers against “feeling good about the obvious drift of my story away from the gas chambers and the killing fields and toward the post-war period, where prosperity beckons.”

But she was not without hope. In 2016, at the request of Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, she addressed parliament on Holocaust Remembrance Day and praised Germany for welcoming refugees from war-torn Syria.

She also came to terms with her mother, who had remarried and worked as a physiotherapist before she died in 2000. Dr. Kluger wrote that she “felt a sense of triumph because this had been a human death, because she had survived and outlived the evil times and had died in her own good time, almost 100 years after she was born.”

Her mother had lived long enough to develop a last love, with her great-granddaughter. “More than 90 years between them,” Dr. Kluger wrote, “but whenever they were together, chatting and touching, they met in a present that miraculously stood still for them, time frozen in space made human. Perhaps redeemed.”

An uncredited but memorable role in the Beatles ‘A Hard Day’s Night.’

permaculture, a movement that began in the mid-1970s whose name is a portmanteau of “permanent agriculture” and “permanent culture.” At her farmhouse in Spain, Mr. Deeks said, she lived off the grid and relied on solar energy.

The director Edgar Wright said on Twitter that Ms. Nolan played a small role in his upcoming movie “Last Night in Soho.” He described her as being in the middle of a Venn diagram of “everything cool in the ’60s,” having appeared with the Beatles and in a James Bond film.

She returned to the screen for “The Power of Three” (2011), a low-budget independent film that she described as a feel-good comedy that reinvented the myth of middle age.

In a 2012 interview with the site Playerlist, she was asked if she wanted to escape glamour or to embrace and use it.

“I absolutely embraced it when I was able to, when I was glamorous,” she said. “You don’t go on embracing it — that is pathetic. It was just part of being young and beautiful.”

More obituaries appear on Page A26.

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Deaths

BANTON—Francis (Frank) Robert, died on October 3, 2020, peacefully at home with his wife Carmen, and son Sean at his side. It’s the family’s wish (and we are sure his) that his words are used for this obituary. The words that follow come from his two books, *Just Above a Whisper* and *Second Thoughts*.

“I was born in New York City, and I have lived most of my life in the Bronx. Part of my education came from the following schools: Saint Raymond’s, Fordham Prep, the University of Notre Dame, Columbia University, and the Free University of New York. The rest came from friends, late night reading, poolrooms, and daydreaming. You can imagine which I value more. I have already had occasion to confess that if it were for me alone to decide, I would willingly pass my life writing and rewriting the same book - that one book that every writer carries within him, the image of his own soul, and of which his published works are only more or less approximate fragments. If my output seems small, it is because I am a teacher first and a writer second. Perhaps then the real poems are the students who have passed through my life at the United Nations International School. If nothing else, they will be my last resort when I finally come face to face with St. Peter.”

Deaths

Banton, Francis
Benguat, Ed
David, Janet
Garmendia, Nesbitt
Kasarsky, Lynne
Waxenberg, Edith

Frank Banton taught for 45 years including time at Jersey Academy and the United Nations International School. He is survived by his wife, Carmen; his sisters, Dorothy Buckley and Constance Banton; his two sons, Sean and Michael; and his granddaughter, Eva. And for that little bit of magic that lifted life above the ordinary, we thank you Frank.

BENGUAT—Ed, Please set 24/26 ITC Benguat Flush Left 4 lines.
Lydia and Howard Glener

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Deaths

Honors will be conducted at Pineslawn Memorial Park, Farmingdale, NY on Wednesday, October 21, 2020 at 11am. Funeral services have been entrusted to Edward D. Lynch Funeral Home, Sunnyside, NY.

KASARSKY—Lynne. Born November 20, 1924. Lynne died on October 16, at the age of 95. Loving wife of the late Irving Kasarsky, devoted mother to Dana and Steven and doting nanny to Rebecca. She was a woman of strong opinions and strong values, smart, articulate, socially conscious, a woman of style and grace, a docent at the Nassau County MFA, and more. She will be deeply missed.

WAXENBERG—Edith. 98 years old, died on October 16, 2020. Beloved mother of Larry and Cathy Waxenberg, and, Jay and Gayle Waxenberg. Cherished grandmother of Jessica and Adam Levison, Gabrielle, Michael and Alex, and, great-grandmother of Etta and Wyatt Levison. The funeral on Sunday will be private. Memorial donations can be made to the Anti-Defamation League.

In Memoriam

MILLER—Raymond, MD. Remembered with love today and every day. Berenice and family

Opinion

The New York Times

ROSS DOUTHAT

Where Liberal Power Lies

A STRIKING THING about the current moment is that if you switch back and forth between reading conservatives and liberals, you see mirror-image anxieties about authoritarianism and totalitarianism, which each side believes are developing across the partisan divide.

Last Sunday I wrote in response to liberals who fear a postelection coup or a second-term slide toward autocracy, arguing (not for the first time) that Donald Trump's authoritarian tendencies are overwhelmed by his incapacities, his distinct lack of will-to-power, and the countervailing power of liberalism in American institutions.

But then the ensuing week brought a wave of conservative anxieties about creeping authoritarianism. The source of the right's agita was Twitter and Facebook, which decided to completely block a New York Post story featuring a cache of alleged Hunter Biden emails (with a very strange chain-of-custody back story) on the suspicion that they were the fruit of hacking, and in Twitter's case to suspend some media accounts that shared the Post story even in critique.

"This is what totalitarianism looks like in our century," the Post's Op-Ed editor, Sohrab Ahmari, wrote in response: "Not men in darkened cells driving screws under the fingernails of dissidents, but Silicon Valley dweebs removing from vast swaths of the internet a damaging exposé on their preferred presidential candidate."

Ahmari's diagnosis is common among my friends on the right. In his new book "Live Not By Lies," for instance, Rod Dreher warns against the rise of a "soft-totalitarianism," distinguished not by formal police-state tactics but by pressure from the heights of big media, big tech and the education system, which are forging "powerful mechanisms for controlling thought and discourse."

Dreher is a religious conservative, but many right-of-center writers who are more culturally liberal (at least under pre-2016 definitions of the term) share a version of his fears. Indeed, what we call the American "right" increasingly just consists of anyone, whether traditionalist or secularist or somewhere in between, who feels alarmed by growing ideological conformity within the media and educational and corporate establishments.

Let me try to elaborate on what this right is seeing. The initial promise of the internet era was radical decentralization, but instead over the last 20 years, America's major cultural institutions have become consolidated, with more influence in the hands of fewer institutions. The decline of newsprint has made a few national newspapers ever more influential, the most-trafficked portions of the internet have fallen under the effective control of a small group of giant tech companies, and the patterns of meritocracy have ensured that the people staffing these institutions are drawn from the same self-reproducing professional class. (A similar trend may be playing out with vertical integration in the entertainment business, while in academia, a declining student population promises to close smaller colleges and solidify the power of the biggest, most prestigious schools.)

Over the same period, in reaction to social atomization, economic disappointment and conspicuous elite failure, the younger members of the liberal upper



POOL PHOTO BY GRAEME JENNINGS

class have become radicalized, embracing a new progressive orthodoxy that's hard to distill but easy to recognize and that really is deployed to threaten careers when the unconvinced step out of line.

And then finally, Trump's mendacious presidency and the spread of online conspiracy theories has encouraged liberals in a belief that the only way to safeguard democracy is for this consolidated establishment to become more aggressive in its attempts at cultural control — which is how you get the strange phenomenon of some journalists fretting about the perils of the First Amendment and demanding that the big social-media enterprises exert a kind of prior restraint over the American conversation.

The right can see all this happening, and so just as liberals see political authoritarianism in a Republican Party clinging to power via the Senate's rural bias, conservatives increasingly see that same G.O.P. as the only bulwark against the cultural authoritarianism inherent in tech and media consolidation. As long as the Republicans retain some power in Washington, Twitter will face subpoena threats when it blocks right-leaning sites and Facebook will remain a safe space to share Ben Shapiro posts . . . but once you hand full political power to liberalism as well, the right fears that what starts with bans on QAnon and Alex Jones will end with social-media censorship of everything from pro-life content to critiques of critical race theory to coverage of the not-so-peaceful style in left-wing protest.

My own view is that this conservative anxiety risks three mistakes. The first is an exaggeration of the consequences of any given election: Losing the presidency for four years and the Senate for two will not immediately make Republicans irrelevant to the calculations of Jack Dorsey and Mark Zuckerberg, and a movement that's poised to make a very Catholic mother of seven the sixth conservative on the Supreme Court retains considerably more resources than, say, dissident movements under Communism.

The second is a somewhat exaggerated sense of the possibilities for permanent cultural control available to a tech-enabled progressivism. The Californian writer James Poulos, who coined the term "the pink police state" to describe the phenomenon that Dreher and others call soft totalitarianism, also emphasized the way that dissent and transgression under this system still "recedes from the reach of officialdom," often outstripping and eluding the would-be censors. The new progressivism is a powerful orthodoxy in certain ways, but brittle and beset by internal contradictions in others, and the full expanse of American discourse is unlikely to ever fall permanently under its control.

Finally, writers anxious about soft totalitarianism on the left tend (not always, but too often) to underestimate how much of a gift the presidency of Donald Trump has been to exactly the tendencies they fear. Trump's own authoritarian impulses and conspiratorial style are so naked, so alienating and frightening, that many people who might otherwise unite with conservatives against the new progressive establishment end up as its reluctant fellow travelers instead.

But having offered these doubts about the diagnosis, let me stress that the mix of elite consolidation and radicalization that conservatives fear is entirely real — and its reality is one reason among many to recognize that no, even in a second term a hapless bully like Trump will not become a dictator and the Republican Party will not establish permanent one-party rule.

Power lies in many places in America, but it lies deeply, maybe ineradicably for the time being, in culture-shaping and opinion-forming institutions that conservatives have little hope of bringing under their control. □

the worst candidate in the history of presidential politics puts pressure on me. Could you imagine if I lose? My whole life, what am I going to do? I'm going to say I lost to the worst candidate in the history of politics. I'm not going to feel so good. Maybe I'll have to leave the country. I don't know."

Not only can we imagine him losing, it is clear that he can as well. In fact, Trump has repeated some version of the passage at rallies for the past few days.

And Trump isn't even trying to make a case for a second term. He isn't laying out a vision and a plan. He is simply demonizing Biden and painting the darkest possible vision of an America where he loses as Biden wins.

The following lines come from speeches Trump has delivered in just the past few days:

"If he wins, the radical left will be running the country and they're addicted to power and God help us if they ever got it, because we would never have the same country again."

"If he wins, there will be nothing but bedlam all over the place."

"If Biden wins, China wins, all these other countries win."

"If he wins, the radical left will be running the country. He won't be running the country. The radical left will take over."

"If Biden wins, your borders are gone, which means your health care is gone, the middle class is gone, and your safety is gone."

"If Sleepy Joe Biden and the Democrat Socialists are elected, every citizen in America will be subjected to their ex-

LETTERS

Judge Barrett's Belief in Originalism

TO THE EDITOR:

Amy Coney Barrett proclaims herself to be an originalist who thinks that when forced to choose between the Constitution's original wording and precedent, a Supreme Court justice is obliged to go with the Constitution. In this she follows in the footsteps of Antonin Scalia, her mentor. Originalists present themselves as conservatives, but in truth they are radical reactionaries.

The founders understood that no document they wrote could anticipate all changes in the future, and provided the amendment process to update the Constitution as needed. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1816, "Let us provide in our constitution for its revision at stated periods."

America today differs in ways the founders never envisioned. The right to vote was extended to freed male slaves and then women. The changes brought by the industrial and technological revolutions are far beyond even Ben Franklin's imagination.

As final arbiters of how the Constitution applies to modern life, Supreme Court justices must have the intellectual flexibility to adopt the Jeffersonian view of it as a continually evolving document. A narrow-minded adherence to its 18th-century text should be disqualifying in itself for Judge Barrett or any 21st-century nominee, regardless of their views on other issues.

ELIOT BRENOWITZ, SEATTLE

TO THE EDITOR:

Judge Amy Coney Barrett no doubt has a brilliant legal mind and a

fantastic academic record. But her embrace of "textualism," or applying the law as written, is troubling for it suggests an almost mechanistic application of the law absent any human interpretation.

The Constitution, laws and regulations are composed of words. Words are of elastic definition. Judges will always interpret words and unavoidably be influenced by their personal thoughts and feelings in doing so.

The important skill for maintaining the court's legitimacy is to do so in an intellectually honest way that tacitly acknowledges bias and struggles to blunt it, not by operating under the cover of the doctrine of "textualism" that suggests that interpretation does not occur.

ROLIFF PURRINGTON, HOUSTON

The writer is a lawyer.

TO THE EDITOR:

Imagine going to your doctor and being told you can't have this antibiotic or that treatment because it wasn't mentioned in the medical texts in 1787. Yet that is essentially what people are saying when they insist that any new candidate for the Supreme Court must be an "originalist."

In which other profession do we rely on texts written centuries ago, regardless of how groundbreaking or well intentioned they were at the time, as the definitive source?

Terms like originalist are often code for "the way things were." But I for one certainly would not want to go back to 1787.

ARDESHEER TALATI, NEW YORK

Is Wishing Trump Ill a Moral Transgression?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "No Joy in the President's Illness," by Sasha Mudd (Op-Ed, Oct. 10):

Dr. Mudd writes that wishing death or suffering on President Trump is inherently wrong and that we should be concerned about the hateful wishes of many toward him.

As a psychoanalyst, I don't believe that a personal goal should be excising "wrong" thoughts or feelings and replacing them with "right" ones. That is opposed to the vital human need to have an internal world that is free, creative and complex. I have worked with many people who police their thoughts and are severely inhibited by the repression it requires.

I am certainly not advocating for people to dispense with morality. But I do deem a free and open

'Socialist' Dig Doesn't Work

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "The President Paints His Rival as a 'Socialist.' Many Voters Aren't Buying It" (news article, Oct. 15):

Donald Trump's efforts to paint Joe Biden as a socialist are not working because . . . Mr. Biden is not a socialist.

HARVEY M. BERMAN
WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

mind, which may hold aggression and compassion simultaneously, to be the best space for considering the complexities of life and the principles of justice on which we act.

LAURA D. MILLER, BROOKLYN

TO THE EDITOR:

Sasha Mudd's Op-Ed was thoughtful and thought-provoking, speaking to concerns I have felt about my own reaction to President Trump's illness. I must admit that the irony that he may well lose the election because he refused to take Covid-19 seriously gives pleasure to some of us.

BARBARA GOLD, PHILADELPHIA

TO THE EDITOR:

I think Sasha Mudd overlooks a basic point. Wishing harm, feeling glee at another's suffering and even hoping that someone will die are all causally inert. They don't in themselves hurt anyone. What morality strictly forbids is taking the smallest step, the least action, to hurt another, cause suffering or bring about death. We have to worry about what we do, not what we feel.

WILLIAM JAMES EARLE, NEW YORK

The writer is emeritus professor of philosophy at the City University of New York.

Going Solo: Divorce in the Age of Coronavirus

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Considering a Coronavirus Divorce?," by Kim Brooks (Sunday Review, Oct. 4):

Ms. Brooks describes the joys of solo time after her divorce. While I feel sadness for the circumstances that caused her and her husband to split up, I can relate to the sense of independence and liberation she's now feeling.

My beloved mate of 42 years, also named Peter, and I have deliberately lived separately since 1984, in our respective apartments two miles apart. Peter and I have long heard that we "have the right idea" about being a happy couple, and although I admit it's easier to live apart when there are no kids involved, there are intelligent options, as Ms. Brooks points out, even for couples with children.

There will be no coronavirus divorce in our family, since we've created a life as a loving couple while each of us enjoys life on our own.

LINDA KONNER, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

As a family and couples clinician, I meet many troubled, very unhappy couples who have conflicts around division of labor, different views of parenting, and stressors around careers, money, older parents or the impact of a major illness. Such individuals often come for help too late when unhappiness has metastasized, or have never sought any help before reaching a decision.

A relationship requires that one change just enough about oneself to have intimacy. Divorce may be

the wisest solution to end suffering, and often people do choose better the second time around. But it is wise for couples to devote the same attention that was paid to a wedding or a home renovation to a better conversation with a neutral party before a disruptive dissolution of the heart.

SUE MATORIN, NEW YORK

The writer is a social worker in the department of psychiatry at Weill Cornell.

TO THE EDITOR:

In describing her Covid-era divorce, Kim Brooks writes that when she's feeling sad, she tells her children "that they now have four adults who love them, a wider circle, something closer to a clan."

For me, this benefit has extended well beyond childhood. My parents split up almost 30 years ago, and both have now died. Their partners are treasured friends, advisers and parental figures to my husband and me. They are beloved grandparents to our daughter.

For me, they are also enduring connections to and reminders of my parents (as I hope I am to them). My dad's partner drove my mom to her cancer treatments and sat in the front row at her funeral. In pre-Covid times, my dad's partner and my stepfather enjoyed regular visits.

Divorce is hard on families in various ways. But Ms. Brooks is correct to take comfort in all that her children have gained.

EMILY GOLD BOUTILIER
AMHERST, MASS.

A Musician Revered by Iranians

Nahid Siamdoust

WITHIN minutes of the death of the Iranian vocalist Mohammad Reza Shajarian on Oct. 8, thousands streamed into the streets surrounding his hospital in Tehran, openly wept and sang his songs in unison.

A man climbed on an ambulance and yelled to applause: “It is the right of the Iranian people to give him a majestic funeral. He belongs to all the people.” Another person called out for three days of mourning, a suggestion that drew cheers from the crowd.

A state funeral would have befit Iran’s most beloved public figure, who died at age 80 after a six-decade career. Mr. Shajarian’s music and message drawn from the humanist canon of Persian poetry, unified people of all generations and political persuasions. But Iranian authorities kept his procession small by fencing off thousands of people paying their last respects in the ancient city of Tus, where he was buried next to the tomb of Ferdowsi, the revered Persian poet.

Though Mr. Shajarian’s verses about tolerance, freedom and justice had aligned with the revolutionary politics of 1979, the increasingly authoritarian politics of the ensuing Islamic Republic put him at odds with the revolution’s outcome.

Mr. Shajarian’s politics were almost never explicit, and he long insisted that he was not political. But for several years before Iran’s 1979 revolution and in the decades since, he created some of the country’s most political songs.

His most famous ballad, “Bird of Dawn,” based on an old Persian poem, became a protest song. When he sang it in his familiar plaintive tenor, Mr. Shajarian embodied the pained bird, dramatizing in music and verse the struggle of a people.

An enraptured audience always joined the prayerlike refrain, expressing its desire for freedom from tyranny: “O God, O Heavens, O Nature, turn our dark night into morning!”

The poem on which the song is based dates to the 1920s, when Iranians’ hopes for representative government were crushed with Reza Pahlavi’s authoritarian takeover. When Mr. Shajarian sang his lyrical version of that poem, fused in his voice were not only thousands of years of civilization and a storied musical and poetic tradition, but a century-long arc of a modern political struggle for freedom.

When I pressed him on the political nature of his music in a 2011 interview, Mr. Shajarian was cryptic: He said he had always tried to “walk the right path.”

“When you’re moving with the people, your position is clear,” he said. “The people know what they want.”

That he so often drew from the mystical tradition of Persian poetry for his lyrics was not an accident; it allowed him to offer subversive political commentary while maintaining an air of deniability. The poetry of the likes of Rumi, Khayyam and Hafez is so nearly universally revered that even arch-conservatives can’t fault it. And in an Islamic Republic where political subversion can land artists and writers in jail, Mr. Shajarian’s unparalleled virtuosity as a vocalist and his virtuousness of character long made him untouchable.

For more than 40 years, Mr. Shajarian channeled the hopes and frustrations of Iranians and became the “people’s voice.” He delved into the country’s rich poetic heritage and sang verses that directly addressed people’s political and social problems. This turned his concerts into one of the few public places where crowds of strangers could get together and openly express their discontent through music.

For all his coyness, Mr. Shajarian understood this well and enjoyed nothing more than singing to his own people in his own land. He once told me, “In Iran, it’s like you’re reminiscing and sharing secrets with people you’ve suffered with.”

But even Mr. Shajarian couldn’t stay untouchable forever. In 2009, when opposition demonstrators flooded the streets after Iran’s disputed presidential election, Mr. Shajarian spoke out against state violence on protesters and sang “Put Your Gun Down”: “Come, sit, talk, listen/ Maybe the light of humanity will open a path in your heart.”

As a punishment, he was forbidden from ever performing in Iran again and his work — including his iftar prayer, “Rabbana,” which people had listened to on radio and television as they broke their fast on Ramadan nights for 30 years — was banned on national media. People resorted to streaming it from their phones.

Since his death, people have huddled together in groups throughout Iran to sing “Bird of Dawn” in what has become a new sort of national anthem. Crushed by government corruption, extreme U.S. sanctions and the pandemic, which has already resulted in nearly 30,000 deaths in the country, Iranians are at a particularly precarious moment. In commemorating Mr. Shajarian, they are also hanging onto the humanist messages of his songs, and the possibility — however remote — of a brighter day. □

NAHID SIAMDOST, a visiting assistant professor of women’s studies and anthropology of religion at the Harvard Divinity School, is the author of “Soundtrack of the Revolution: The Politics of Music in Iran.”



ILLUSTRATIONS BY ANNIE JEN

5 Ways to Focus Your Angst and Energy Before Nov. 3

Moises Velasquez-Manoff

Feeling anxious about Nov. 3? There’s a lot to worry about. We’re holding an election during a pandemic. Republicans are discussing aggressive tactics aimed, some charge, at suppressing the Democratic vote. And President Trump, who has sown doubts about mail-in voting, has repeatedly refused to commit to a peaceful transition of power should he lose. Democrats hope for an overwhelming “blue wave” to forestall such shenanigans.

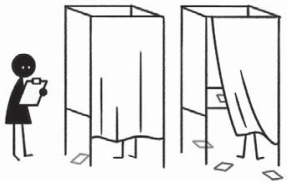
How can you help ensure this outcome? Giving money is fine, but you can also donate your energy. Here’s a list of some ways to help.



VOLUNTEER THROUGH THE BIDEN CAMPAIGN.

Once you sign up, the campaign will direct you to where it thinks it thinks you’ll be most effective, which may include battleground states. You can also specify areas you’d like to focus on. Creatives can sign up to create graphics, memes and other content. Spanish-speakers can sign up to call or text voters.

And anyone can download the Vote Joe App. One of the most effective ways to increase voter turnout, experts told me repeatedly, is to ensure that your friends and family know how to vote. Once downloaded, the app finds those in your contact list who live in a battleground state, so that you can reach out to them.



WORK THE POLLS.

Poll workers are especially in demand this year because of the pandemic. The people who often staff polling sites — older, retired people — are more likely to stay home. If poll sites don’t have enough workers, they can’t open, making it harder for people to vote.

Poll work is nonpartisan (and often paid). The nonprofit group Work Elections can help you find your local election office, where you can sign up. Or you can sign up through Power the Polls, which aims to recruit poll workers around the country.

Alternatively, you can volunteer as a partisan poll observer. These observers are trained to spot and report problems for their respective parties. Many states allow only one per party per polling site or precinct. You can sign up through your state’s chapter of the Democratic Party or through the Biden campaign.

Fair Fight, a group founded by Stacey Abrams, the former candidate for governor of Georgia, is also recruiting election observers, with a focus on battleground states.

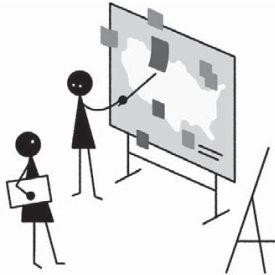
You can even protect the integrity of the vote from home by volunteering with the nonpartisan group Election Protection, which, among other endeavors, monitors and flags social media for disinformation. Those with legal experience can staff its hotline, 866-OUR-VOTE.



CONTACT VOTERS NATIONALLY.

The Last Weekends, run by Swing Left, has a site where, using your ZIP code, you can locate nearby efforts to “virtually connect with voters in key states in order to swing the Senate, beat Trump, and turn state legislatures blue.” (Indivisible, another progressive group, also allows you to find events by ZIP code.)

Or you can write a letter to a voter through The Big Send, which aims to send at least 15 million letters in 2020. It’s a nice option for people who don’t feel comfortable cold-calling or texting voters. The group organizing the effort, Vote Forward, claims that letters sent to voters increased turnout in the 2017 Alabama special election for the U.S. Senate and the Ohio “OH-12” special election.



FOCUS ON BATTLEGROUNDS.

You can volunteer directly for the Wisconsin Democratic Party. In 2016, Wisconsin went to President Trump by less than one percentage point. It’s now experiencing the worst coronavirus outbreak of all the battleground states. It’s looking for volunteers for two important activities: “vote chasing,” which involves calling would-be voters who’ve requested absentee ballots to ensure that they know how to fill them out properly; and “vote curing,” which involves calling people whose ballots have been rejected for technicalities and helping them remedy the problem.

Here’s the pitch from Ben Wikler, the chairman of the Democratic Party there: “The No. 1 thing that every American who wants to rescue democracy in the country can do is to sign up for phone bank shifts with the Democratic Party in Wisconsin.”

You can do something similar for the Democratic Party in North Carolina, a state with a troubling history of restrictions on voting. The party there is also conducting vote-chasing calls. Again, this is not necessarily about cold-calling to persuade undecided voters, which can seem intimidating, but about ensuring votes are properly cast and counted.

Texas could also use your help. Its Republican governor has announced that each county can have only one drop box for ballots — a decision that critics say will make it disproportionately hard for older people and members of minorities to vote. For perspective, Harris County, which contains



VOTE, VOLUNTEER, HOPE FOR THE BEST, BUT PREPARE FOR SKULDUGGERY.

Mr. Biden appears to be leading in nearly all of the polls, but that doesn’t mean his supporters should be complacent. Remember that Hillary Clinton got nearly three million more votes than Mr. Trump in 2016, but still lost. To decisively win, Democrats need high turnout, particularly in battleground states.

What about the sore-loser scenario, in which Mr. Biden wins but President Trump refuses to accept the outcome? You can prepare for peaceful mass mobilization through Protect the Results, organized by the progressive organizations Stand Up America and Indivisible. It’s one way to stay apprised of plans.

So harness that election season anxiety and put it to good use helping your fellow Americans vote. You may find that taking action restores your hope for this divided country.

If nothing else, it may be good for your mental health. □

MOISES VELASQUEZ-MANOFF, the author of “An Epidemic of Absence: A New Way of Understanding Allergies and Autoimmune Diseases,” is a contributing opinion writer.

evaluating their computer networks right now and ramping up the protections they have in place to prevent their services from being interrupted by malware or their sensitive patient data from being stolen. This will be a significant challenge at a moment when many hospitals are struggling financially because so few people are opting to have elective medical procedures.

But cybersecurity shortcomings in the health care sector need to be addressed now, more than ever, when medical care is increasingly being offered via remote, online formats and many hospital intensive care units are already at capacity, with little ability to send patients to other facilities in the event that their networks are shut down. Lawmakers, too, should be thinking about how to support the health care sector in these endeavors by providing funds to public hospitals for this purpose and developing clear security standards and requirements, so that hospitals have strong incentives to make much-needed improvements and are able to do so.

This will be a vital component of learning from this pandemic about all the ways we must do a better job of supporting our hospitals and health care workers in the future: making sure not just that they have the necessary equipment and facilities and human capital, but also that they have secure computer systems they can rely on in moments of crisis. □

JOSEPHINE WOLFF is an assistant professor at Tufts University and a contributing opinion writer.

How Ransomware Puts Your Hospital at Risk

Josephine Wolff

IN MARCH, several cybercrime groups rushed to reassure people that they wouldn’t target hospitals and other health care facilities during the Covid-19 pandemic. The operators of several prominent strains of ransomware all announced they would not target hospitals, and some of them even promised to decrypt the data of health care organizations for free if one was accidentally infected by their malware. But any cybersecurity strategy that relies on the moral compunctions of criminals is doomed to fail, particularly when it comes to protecting the notoriously vulnerable computer systems of hospitals.

So it’s no surprise that Universal Health Services was hit by ransomware late last month, affecting many of its more than 400 health care facilities across the United States and Britain. Or that clinical trials for a Covid-19 vaccine have been held up by a similar ransomware attack disclosed in early October. Or that loose-knit coalitions of volunteers all over the world are working around the clock to try to protect the computer systems of hospitals that are already straining under the demands of providing patient care during a global pandemic.

In the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, the potential consequences of these cyberattacks are terrifying. Hospitals that have lost access to their databases or had their networks infected by ransomware may not be able to admit pa-

tients in need of care or may take longer to provide those patients with the treatment they need, if they switch to relying on paper records. Clinical trials for potentially life-saving pharmaceuticals could be delayed by weeks or months, depending on how long it takes to restore the affected data and systems. Cybersecurity has never been more vitally important for hospitals than it is right now.

Even before the pandemic, hospitals were an increasingly popular target for ransomware and other types of cyber-

attacks, because they need to be able to operate constantly, providing patient care 24 hours a day. Any interruption to their networks must be resolved as quickly as possible, making them ideal targets for ransomware, in which attackers promise to restore their systems immediately in exchange for cryptocurrency payments.

Cyberattacks can even prove fatal: Last month, a woman in Germany in a life-threatening condition died when a Düsseldorf hospital was unable to admit her because it was experiencing a ransomware attack and instead had to send her to a hospital 20 miles away. It was the first death that has been directly tied to a cyberattack and the timing was a reminder of how health care networks are

especially vulnerable at a moment when many health centers are already struggling to keep up with the demands on their personnel and resources.

Unfortunately, cybersecurity has never been a strong point for the health care sector. Hospital networks are notoriously insecure due to a combination of inadequate resources, a lack of clear and effective cybersecurity guidelines and the large number of people and systems involved in operating a hospital, all of whom need some degree of access to its network. Additionally, hospitals rely on specialized medical equipment, such as ventilators and M.R.I. machines. That means that every time there’s a security patch or update for software that is running on a hospital’s computers, the hospital first needs to make sure that update won’t interfere with its ability to connect to those other, older machines, before installing it.

Updating specialized medical equipment to be compatible with more secure software is often a slow or prohibitively expensive undertaking, especially if it requires purchasing new machines. But recent attacks show that the consequences of relying on old software can be even more devastating financially: When Britain’s National Health Service was hit by the WannaCry ransomware in 2017, the malware took advantage of a vulnerability the out-of-date operating system that many N.H.S. computers were still running. The N.H.S. estimated that WannaCry cost them 92 million British pounds, or about \$118 million, in direct I.T. costs and lost output.

Every hospital and clinic should be re-

Rhonda Fleming, Hollywood Star Made for Technicolor, Is Dead at 97

By ANITA GATES

Rhonda Fleming, the red-haired actress who became a popular sex symbol in Hollywood westerns, film noir and adventure movies of the 1940s and '50s, died on Wednesday in Santa Monica, Calif. She was 97.

Her death, in a hospital, was confirmed by Carla Sapon, her longtime assistant.

Ms. Fleming's roles included those of a beautiful Arthurian princess in the Bing Crosby musical version of Mark Twain's novel "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" (1949); a gambler and the love interest of Wyatt Earp (Burt Lancaster) in "Gunfight at the O.K. Corral" (1957); an amorous duchess in Bob Hope's comedy "The Great Lover" (1949); and the somewhat less bad sister of Arlene Dahl's bad

Studios ‘never wanted more from me than my looking good.’

girl character in "Slightly Scarlet" (1956), which might be described as a Technicolor noir.

In Jacques Tourneur's "Out of the Past" (1947), she played a supporting role as a nervous secretary, alongside Robert Mitchum and Kirk Douglas. She was a turn-of-the-century New England secretary who is murdered by a serial killer (George Brent) in "The Spiral Staircase" (1946). Another supporting role, she said, was her favorite: the overdressed, overcoiffed stepsister to Jean Simmons's character in the thriller "Home Before Dark" (1958).

Like her peer Maureen O'Hara, Ms. Fleming was sometimes referred to as the Queen of Technicolor; both actresses had glamorous red hair, green eyes and fair skin. But in later years, she looked back on that as a drawback.

The studios "never wanted more from me than my looking good and waltzing through a parade of films like 'The Redhead and the Cowboy,'" she told People magazine in 1991, referring to a 1951 western she made with Glenn Ford.

She sang in several of her films

Michael Levenson contributed reporting.



POPPERFOTO, VIA GETTY IMAGES



CHRIS FARINA/CORBIS, VIA GETTY IMAGES



ASSOCIATED PRESS

From left: Rhonda Fleming around 1960; with Bob Hope in the 1949 film "The Great Lover"; and accepting an award at the 2005 CineVegas Film Festival in Las Vegas. Ms. Fleming said that she never officially retired; she had just chosen to work less.

and was part of a gospel quartet, the Four Girls, with Jane Russell, Connie Haines and Beryl Davis in the '50s. In 1957 she embarked on a Las Vegas career, performing at the brand-new Tropicana hotel. Later, she appeared at the Hollywood Bowl and toured with Skitch Henderson and his orchestra.

On the brink of her 50th birthday, she made her Broadway debut. Part of an ensemble cast that included Myrna Loy, Alexis Smith and Kim Hunter in a 1973 revival of Clare Boothe Luce's comedy "The Women," she was Miriam Aarons, the relatively minor role played by Paulette Goddard in the 1939 film. Reviewing the production in The New York Times, Clive Barnes described Ms. Fleming as "all good nature as the lush with the heart of a martini."

Rhonda Fleming was born Marilyn Louis on Aug. 10, 1923, in Hol-

lywood, the younger of two daughters of Effie Graham, a model and actress, and Harold Cheverton Louis, who worked in the insurance industry.

While she was still a student at Beverly Hills High School, Marilyn was spotted by an agent and given a few small film roles. David O. Selznick, the powerful movie producer, saw her, put her under contract and changed her name to Rhonda Fleming.

After a few uncredited screen appearances (in her first three movies she played Dance-Hall Girl, Girl at Dance and Girl on Train), she made her official film debut in "Spellbound" (1945), Alfred Hitchcock's psychological thriller. She played a sex-hungry mental patient being treated by Ingrid Bergman's character; she often told interviewers that she had to look up the word "nympho-

maniac" to know exactly what her character was supposed to be.

Over the next 15 years she made some three dozen films. Four of her 1950s movies starred Ronald Reagan, including "Tropic Zone" (1953), in which his character saved her character's banana plantation.

Although she tended to be cast as a fresh-faced but sexy American girl, she did play the occasional foreign type. She was Cleopatra in "Serpent of the Nile" (1953), opposite Raymond Burr as Mark Antony. In "Little Egypt" (1951), she portrayed an exotic belly dancer at a world's fair — although her character turned out to be just a New Jersey girl with a fake accent.

In the early 1960s, she turned almost exclusively to acting on television, where she was active until the mid-1970s.

She returned to the big screen in "Won Ton Ton, the Dog Who Saved Hollywood" (1976), a comedy remembered largely because so many stars of Ms. Fleming's era agreed to be in it. Her character's name was Rhoda Flaming.

Technically, Ms. Fleming's final screen appearance was in "Waiting for the Wind," a 1990 half-hour television drama in which she played a religious farm wife opposite Mitchum. Her last film was "The Nude Bomb," a 1980 spy comedy based on the 1960s sitcom "Get Smart," in which she played Edith Von Secondberg, an international fashion designer.

Ms. Fleming had six husbands. In 1940 she married Thomas Lane, with whom she had a son. They divorced in 1948. Her second husband was Lew Morrill (1952-58), a physician, followed by Lang Jeffries, an actor (1960-62), and

Hall Bartlett (1966-72), a filmmaker. All of those marriages ended in divorce.

In 1978 she married Ted Mann, owner of the Mann Theaters chain. They were together until his death in 2001. Two years later she married Darol Carlson, who died in 2017. She is survived by her son, Kent Lane, as well as two granddaughters, five great-grandchildren and two great-great-grandchildren, Ms. Sapon said.

Ms. Fleming once said that she never officially retired; she just chose to work less. In a 1993 interview with The Toronto Star, relaxing at her California home with Mr. Mann, she said, "My husband recently asked me if I'd seen any movie I wanted to appear in." She went straight for a specific role. "I said yes, the dinosaur in 'Jurassic Park.'"

1908-1995

Eleanor Flexner

A Pioneering Feminist When Feminism Was ‘at Its Core, a Deep Illness’

By ELLEN CAROL DUBOIS

In the 1950s, Eleanor Flexner, a left-wing activist and writer, decided to compile a comprehensive history of the women's rights movement in the United States, exploring a span of more than 300 years. Her timing could not have been less auspicious. Feminism was virtually a dirty word, described in Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham's celebrated book "Modern Woman: The Lost Sex" (1947) as "at its core, a deep illness."

Moreover, the House Un-American Activities Committee, or HUAC, was engaged in a ruthless investigation of Communist influence in the United States, attacking left-wing artists and intellectuals. Flexner had been a member of the Communist Party from 1936 through 1956, and although she was not hauled before HUAC, the careers of some of her closest friends and associates had been ruined.

Nonetheless, Flexner, with no formal training as a professional historian,

Smith College and elsewhere, covered an immense amount of material, from Anne Hutchinson, the 17th-century rebel against Puritan clerical authority in Massachusetts, to the dramatic final years of the ratification of the 19th Amendment, by which women won the right to vote. It remained the pre-eminent text on the topic for more than half a century, and is still taught in schools and consulted widely by historians today.

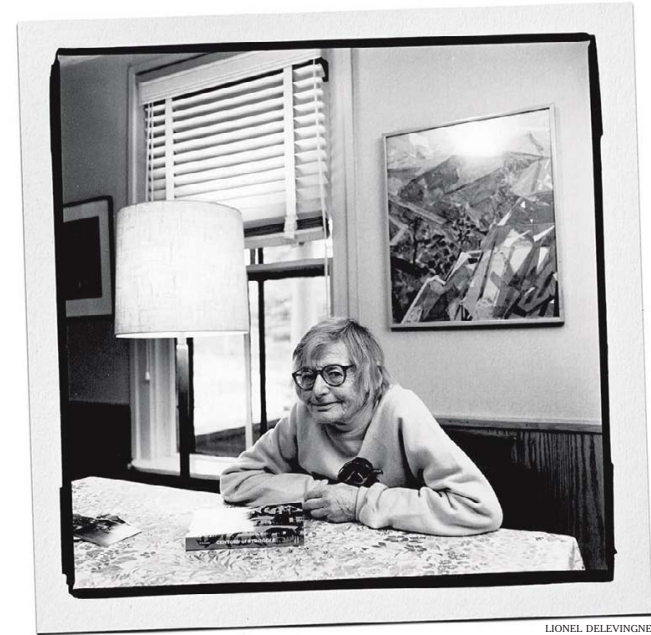
For the book, Flexner said she tracked down the aging heroine of the Triangle shirtwaist factory strike, Clara Lemlich Shavelson, and uncovered information on the nearly forgotten Knights of Labor pioneer Leonora Barry from a granddaughter, who she said was thrilled that "somebody was going to finally take notice of my wonderful grandmother."

She also wrote about the struggles of African-American women. With the support of her brother-in-law, the head of the Industrial Records Division of the National Archives, she was able to access petitions to abolish slavery that women had sent to Congress in the 1830s. "I practically cried," she said — but, she added, "I was afraid of getting tears on the petitions."

Flexner came from a distinguished family. She was born on Oct. 4, 1908, in Georgetown, Ky., about 15 miles north of Lexington, the second daughter of Abraham and Anne Crawford Flexner. Abraham Flexner, the first college graduate of an immigrant German Jewish family, published "Medical Education in the United States and Canada" (1910) for the Carnegie Foundation. Also called "The Flexner Report," it led to a major reorganization of medical education.

Anne Crawford Flexner was a successful playwright. Her big hit was the theater and film adaptation of the Alice Hegan Rice novel "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," a tale of urban poverty. She wanted Eleanor to become a writer and supported her research with royalties from "Mrs. Wiggs," along with additional money she left her when she died in 1955. Eleanor Flexner dedicated "Century of Struggle" to her mother, whose "life was touched at many points by the movement whose history I have tried to record."

The Flexners were related by marriage to M. Carey Thomas, a suffragist and founding dean of Bryn Mawr College. Eleanor met Thomas at 14, when she went to her sister's graduation at Bryn Mawr. Flexner recalled in a 1988 interview that Thomas put her hand on her head and said to her father, "Abe, when are we getting this one?" Eleanor



LIONEL DELEVINGNE

was determined to go to Swarthmore instead.

There, after she was kept out of a sorority because of her Jewish background, she and her best friend organized a campaign to bar Greek societies from campus (they weren't successful).

After a brief stint doing graduate work in London, Flexner moved to Manhattan, living in her parents' apartment while they were in Princeton, N.J., where her father was charged with establishing the Institute of Advanced Study, a pioneering institute for scholars and scientists pursuing independent research. (Albert Einstein was one of its first faculty members.)

She alternated between writing and left-wing activism. In 1938 she published her first book, "American Playwrights, 1918-1938: The Theater Retreats From Reality," an indictment of contemporary playwrights for their lack of interest in the social conditions shaping their writing. She helped to organize clerical workers and to break down racial segregation in the nursing profession in connection with the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (now part of the American Nurses Association).

In 1946 she became, at the urging of the Communist Party, the executive

director of the Congress of American Women, a popular front organization with links to the heyday of the suffrage movement — its members including the granddaughter of the suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the grandniece of Susan B. Anthony. It was the training ground for several other important pioneering women's historians, including Gerda Lerner and Aileen Kraditor.

From the beginning of her research for her book, Flexner knew that she wanted to highlight African-American women, whose presence and contributions to securing women's rights were almost entirely absent from earlier accounts. But she was discouraged from many sides.

When she visited W.E.B. Du Bois, one of the great African-American historians, he dismissed her project offhand, a curt rejection that continued to smart for decades.

Although her first book had been published by Simon & Schuster, Flexner had trouble finding a publisher for this new project. When she brought an early draft to Harper & Brothers, she was told to remove the material on Black women because it would be of no interest to general readers.

She secured the material she needed with support from two African-Ameri-

ONLINE: OVERLOOKED

Overlooked is a series of obituaries about remarkable people whose deaths, beginning in 1851, went unreported in The Times. [nytimes.com/overlooked](https://www.nytimes.com/overlooked)

can librarians, Dorothy Porter of the Negro Collection of Howard University and Jean Blackwell Hutson of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library.

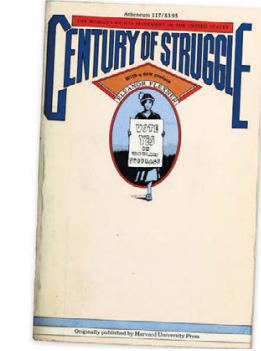
And she eventually found a way to share her work, when the Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger Sr. persuaded Harvard University Press to publish it. The initial reviews of "Century of Struggle" were almost entirely from women historians (writing in The New York Times, the biographer Ishbel Ross complimented Flexner's "impressive picture of the long fight for emancipation"), with the rare male historian concerned that she might be "too sympathetic" with her subjects. Soon after Betty Friedan's 1963 blockbuster, "The Feminine Mystique," cited Flexner's work, "Century of Struggle" became a must-read book for a new young generation of women's historians and feminist scholars.

In 1957 Flexner moved to Northampton, Mass., to research her biography of Mary Wollstonecraft, which she published in 1972. Never married, she shared a home with her "beloved companion," Helen Terry, until Terry's death in 1983. In 1988, when she was living, not very happily, in a retirement home in Westboro, Mass., she said in an interview that she was still smarting from the lack of support she initially received for "Century of Struggle."

When asked what prompted her to write her book despite the obstacles, she gave many answers, none definitive. There was hearing the labor activist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn speak of the "Lowell Girls," young textile workers who went on strike in the 1830s for better wages. There was stumbling on the 1911 "History of Women in Trade Unions," a federally funded study of the history of women in organized labor. And there was meeting Alma Lutz, whose biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton had been "one of the early books that fired me up."

Flexner died in Westboro on March 25, 1995. She was 86.

More obituaries appear on Pages A22 and A23.



began what became a pathbreaking, wide-ranging account of activism for women's rights in America.

"Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States" (1959) was the first authoritative narrative of one of the great dimensions of American democratic history. The book, based largely on her original research in the Library of Congress, the Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History at

Ellen Carol DuBois, a distinguished research professor of history at U.C.L.A., is the author of "Suffrage: Women's Long Battle for the Vote" (2020), among other books. Her decades-old copy of "Century of Struggle" had lost its binding by the time she interviewed Flexner in 1988.



3 ON TECH
Expect delays and chaos as parcel companies already stretched thin tackle the surge of holiday packages.



5 TRAVEL
Iceland hopes that it will be the top choice for tourists looking to book their first post-pandemic trip overseas.

Your Cubicle Will Have to Wait



Shuttered offices in Midtown. Many employers are delaying return-to-office dates once again, setting their sights on the summer of 2021 at the earliest.

July Is the New January For a Return to the Office

By **GILLIAN FRIEDMAN**
and **KELLEN BROWNING**

When the coronavirus pandemic shuttered offices around the United States in March, many companies told their employees that it would be only a short hiatus away from headquarters. Workers, they said, would be back in their cubicles within a matter of weeks. Weeks turned into September. Then September turned into January. And now, with the virus still surging in some parts of the country, a growing number of employers are delaying return-to-office dates once again, to the summer of 2021 at the earliest.

Google was one of the first to announce that July 2021 was its return-to-office date. Uber, Slack and Airbnb soon jumped on the bandwagon. In the past week, Microsoft, Target, Ford Motor and The New York Times said they, too, had postponed the return of in-person work

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2



A remote-working company from the start, Ultronauts created effective tools, said Jamie Davila, a manager.

Long Working Remotely, Company Shares Its Tips

By **STEVE LOHR**

From her home in Beaverton, Ore., Jamie Davila leads a team of eight engineers in seven states for the technology start-up Ultronauts. Like millions of other people during these work-from-home times, she relies on popular communication tools like Zoom and Slack.

But Ms. Davila and Ultronauts also work remotely in ways that make them different from most companies. They follow a distinctive set of policies and practices to promote diversity and inclusion among employees.

All video meetings have closed captioning, for workers who prefer to absorb information in text. Meeting agendas are distributed in advance so people who are uncomfortable speaking up can contribute in writing beforehand. Employees are asked daily for feedback, like

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

A Trump Image Maker Loses His Touch

Ben Smith
THE MEDIA EQUATION

Did you catch Steve Harvey’s “Funderdome” on ABC? How about “The World’s Best” on CBS, “The Contender” on Epix, or “World’s Toughest Race: Eco-Challenge” on Amazon Prime? Or the Christian-themed dramas “A.D. The Bible Continues” on NBC and “Messiah” on Netflix?

No? Well, you’re hardly alone. And the man behind the string of flops is Mark Burnett, the legendary TV producer who shaped Donald Trump’s image from “The Apprentice” through his 2016 inauguration. Like his greatest creation, Mr. Trump — who sought and then lost an idiotic television ratings war on Thurs-

day night with Joe Biden — Mr. Burnett seems to be struggling to keep his grip on the cultural moment.

Mr. Burnett’s story has been told often, and until 2016 he was eager to help tell it — how he

The “Apprentice” producer hasn’t had a big hit since 2011.

reshaped American television with “Survivor” in 2000 and how, with the 2004 start of “The Apprentice,” he “resurrected Donald Trump as an icon of American success,” as The New Yorker put it. He’s been in Mr. Trump’s ear ever since: He held a planning meeting for the 2016 inaugu-

ration in his Ritz-Carlton apartment, the event’s planner, Stephanie Winston Wolkoff, wrote. His associates produced the Republican National Convention this summer, Michael Grynbaum and Annie Karni reported for The New York Times. When President Trump took the presidential helicopter from the hospital to the White House this month, panicked Twitter commentators compared an official video of his triumphal return to the work of the Nazi propagandist Leni Riefenstahl. But Mr. Burnett was the artiste whose influence really shined through on the video, though a spokeswoman said he did not consult on it.

“The level of production coming out of the White House is something we would have appreciated having,” Bill Pruitt, a

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Post Staff Questioned Report on Biden

By **KATIE ROBERTSON**

The New York Post’s front-page article about Hunter Biden on Wednesday was written mostly by a staff reporter who refused to put his name on it, two Post employees said.

Bruce Golding, a reporter at the Rupert Murdoch-owned tabloid since 2007, did not allow his byline to be used because he had concerns over the article’s credibility, the two Post employees said, speaking on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retaliation.

Coming late in a heated presidential campaign, the article suggested that Joseph R. Biden Jr. had used his position to enrich his son Hunter when he was vice president. The Post based the story on photos and documents the paper said it had taken from the hard drive of a laptop purportedly belonging to Hunter Biden.

Many Post staff members questioned whether the paper had done enough to verify the authenticity of the hard drive’s contents, said five people with knowledge of the tabloid’s inner workings. Staff members also had concerns about

Doubting an article’s credibility and its sources’ reliability.

the reliability of its sources and its timing, the people said.

The article named two sources: Stephen K. Bannon, the former adviser to President Trump now facing federal fraud charges, who was said to have made the paper aware of the hard drive last month; and Rudolph W. Giuliani,

the president’s personal lawyer, who was said to have given the paper “a copy” of the hard drive on Oct. 11.

Mr. Giuliani said he chose The Post because “either nobody else would take it, or if they took it, they would spend all the time they could to try to contradict it before they put it out.”

Top editors met on Oct. 11 to discuss how to use the material provided by Mr. Giuliani. The group included the tabloid veteran Colin Allan, known as Col; Stephen Lynch, The Post’s editor in chief; and Michelle Gottself, the digital editor in chief, according to a person with knowledge of the meeting. Mr. Allan, who was The Post’s editor in chief from 2001 to 2016 and returned last year as an adviser, urged his colleagues to move quickly, the person said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

WORKPLACE

July Seems to Be the New January for Returning to the Office

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
to next summer and acknowledged the inevitable: The pandemic isn't going away anytime soon.

“Let's just bite the bullet,” said Joan Burke, the chief people officer of DocuSign in San Francisco. In August, her company, which manages electronic document signatures, decided it would allow its 5,200 employees to work from home until June 2021.

“We're still in a place where this is evolving,” she said. “None of us have all the answers.”

Many more companies are expected to delay their return-to-office dates to keep workers safe. And workers said they were in no rush to go back, with 73 percent of U.S. employees fearing that being in their workplace could pose a risk to their personal health and safety, according to a study by Wakefield Research commissioned by Envoy, a workplace technology company.

More companies are also saying that they will institute permanent work-from-home policies so employees do not ever have to come into the office again.

In May, Facebook was one of the first to announce that it would allow many employees to work remotely even after the pandemic. Twitter, Coinbase and Shopify have also said they would do so. On Friday, Microsoft announced it would also be part of that shift.

The elongating timelines and changing policies add up to a continued balancing act for companies as the coronavirus shatters work norms and upends assumptions about where workers need to be to achieve maximum productivity. Employers are also under pressure to be as open as possible about their intentions so that workers can plan ahead with their lives.

The postponement of return dates is a “psychological blow for those who expected this to be a transition phase,” said Tsedal Neeley, a Harvard Business School professor who studies remote work. “The reality is hitting that, ‘There won't be a vaccine as I expected very quickly. This is going to be my life, and I'd better learn how to do this.’”

Dr. Neeley likened the situation to waiting at an airport terminal for a flight that is continually delayed. With the new dates announced, she said, people can finally start adjusting from a temporary “grinning and bear it” approach to a permanent shift.

Successful companies “have begun to think about long-term strategy rather than ‘Let's just survive our crisis,’” she said.

Much of corporate America is now following the lead of Silicon Valley tech companies like Google



STUART ISETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, Microsoft's headquarters in Redmond, Wash., in 2017. At left, Target's boarded-up headquarters in Minneapolis. Both companies said last week that employees would continue to work at home through June 2021.



AARON P/BAUER-GRIFFIN, VIA GETTY IMAGES

and Facebook. They were among those that allowed employees to work from home even before the pandemic hit in full force in March. Since then, Facebook has set the tone in planning for permanent remote work, while Google established the July 2021 target date for returning to the office.

“I hope this will offer the flexibility you need to balance work with taking care of yourselves and your loved ones over the next 12 months,” Google's chief executive, Sundar Pichai, wrote in an email to employees about the July 2021 date.

Other employers soon emulat-

ed the tech giants, also citing worker flexibility as a key factor in pushing their return-to-office dates to next summer.

Ms. Burke, the DocuSign executive, said announcing the June 2021 return date to employees prompted a “collective sigh of relief inside the company” because it put an end to the incremental postponements and uncertainty of when they would be expected to return.

Remote work has been productive, she said, and people like not having to commute. But a mix of in-person and remote is probably the most popular option for em-

ployees when life returns to normal, she said, because they also miss the social interaction of an office space.

Zoom “is not the same thing, and it's exhausting,” Ms. Burke said. “By 7 o'clock last night, I was Zoomed out.”

Other companies that have delayed their returns to the office until next summer often face a more complicated decision because their work forces are not just made up of white-collar engineers, unlike those of internet companies.

Ford said last week that its decision to hold off on back in-person office work through June 2021 would apply to its roughly 32,000 employees in North America who are already working remotely. The company, which has about 188,000 employees, said the policy does not apply to factory staff.

When Target announced its decision to let some employees continue to work at home through June 2021 in a letter to staff last week, it said it would apply just to employees at its headquarters in Minneapolis. The company said a small number of employees who rely on the headquarters facilities would continue to work on-site.

In-store employees will work in retail stores as usual.

Some companies that have already tried bringing employees back to the office have grappled with safety concerns. Last month, Goldman Sachs and JPMorgan Chase sent some workers back home after employees who had returned to the office tested positive for the virus.

Tech companies have also been at the forefront of permanent

A study shows 73% of U.S. employees fear that going back will risk their health.

work-from-home policies because digital work is often simpler for people to conduct via laptops and teleconferences than by being on site.

Slack told employees — many of them engineers — in early August that its offices would remain closed until June 2021 and that it was considering permanent

work-from-home, a decision partly driven by how productive its employees have been remotely, said Robby Kwok, the chief of staff to Slack's chief executive.

“I do think this flexibility that employers are giving to employees about not needing to come into the office five days a week is going to be extremely beneficial for productivity, for engagement,” Mr. Kwok said.

Even when the pandemic subsides, Mr. Kwok said, he thinks most Slack employees would prefer that the company allow a mix of at-home and office work.

Still, some tech companies have reservations about embracing permanent remote work and what might be lost in the process. Rapid7, a cybersecurity company in Boston, has told its more than 1,600 employees that they would continue to work from home through the beginning of 2021. But the company said it does its best work through in-person collaboration, and the pandemic has not changed that.

“We know we are not meant to be 100 percent remote,” said Christina Luconi, the company's chief people officer. “We will all go back to the office” when it is safe to do so, she said.

A push to all-company remote work can be particularly difficult for companies with predominantly young work forces, said Andy Eichfeld, the chief human resources and administrative officer at the credit card company Discover, which told employees on Sept. 29 that they would not need to return to the office before June 2021.

“A younger person needs apprenticeship in the first 10 or 15 years of their career,” Mr. Eichfeld said. “And we know how to deliver that in person. I'm not sure apprenticeship happens remotely.”

For some workers, the return date of next summer and the idea of permanent work from home is a mixed blessing.

When Colin Fahrion, a digital communications specialist for the University of California, San Francisco, found out in June that he would not need to return to the office until at least July 2021, he moved 15 miles farther away from San Francisco, from Richmond to Vallejo, about 30 miles outside the city, and bought a house.

Mr. Fahrion, 47, now has a dedicated office space and a backyard where his dog can play, and he has talked to his supervisor about working remotely on a permanent basis. Still, he finds Zoom meetings to be devoid of collaborative energy.

“I miss my co-workers,” he said.

Long a Manager of Remote Workers, a Company Shares Its Tips on Inclusion

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
whether they believe their strengths are valued and if they feel lonely at work.

“The whole idea is to create a safe space that allows everyone to be heard,” Ms. Davila, 36, said.

Ultranaughts has been working for years on the challenges confronting so many companies during the pandemic, and probably beyond: how to effectively work remotely, make progress toward diversity and inclusion goals, and build a strong organizational culture.

The company, founded in 2013 by two former roommates at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has had a remote work force from Day 1. It was also founded to use the untapped talent of autistic people, who often think and process information differently from the rest of the population. Seventy-five percent of Ultranaughts employees are on the autism spectrum.

So the small start-up may offer lessons for corporate America in how to hire, manage and motivate far-flung employees, whose work and careers can suffer without the face time and hallway conversations of office life.

“Ultranaughts' purposeful construction of a workplace that really supports people is extraordinary,” said Susanne Bruyere, academic director of the Yang-Tan Institute on Employment and Disability at Cornell University. “Its techniques and tools could absolutely be applied more broadly.”

The start-up's customers include big companies like AIG, BNY Mellon and Cigna. It began with manual quality testing of websites and apps but has steadily moved to more advanced work like data-quality engineering, data analytics and automated software testing.

When the pandemic hit, Ultranaughts, which is based in New York, lost business as a couple of large customers made cuts to conserve cash. But it quickly picked up new work from companies that are accelerating digital projects despite the downturn. The busi-



AMANDA LUCIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“The whole idea is to create a safe space that allows everyone to be heard,” Jamie Davila, who leads a team of eight engineers in seven states, said of Ultranaughts' policies to promote diversity and inclusion among employees.

ness now has 90 employees, up from 60 a year ago. Its goal is to expand to 200 in two years.

Ultranaughts is backed by social-impact investors — which seek financial returns, but not windfalls — including The Disability Opportunity Fund, SustainVC, Wasabi Ventures and Moai Capital. They have invested \$5.7 million so far.

The company insists its work force is a competitive advantage. The edge, it says, is not so much that autistic brains are wired for computing tasks but that people on the autism spectrum are a diverse group.

One person may recognize patterns quickly, while another has a more measured cognitive style but arrives at different patterns and ways to fix code. The key lies in harnessing the varied talents of teams.

Meetings are recorded, transcribed and archived not only to accommodate workers who prefer reading to listening but also to

foster a more open organization. That extends to the weekly meetings of the six-person leadership team at Ultranaughts. The notes of those sessions, including the decisions made and reasons behind them, are published on the company-wide Slack channel.

“It is a lot more transparency than most people in business are comfortable with,” said Art Shectman, a co-founder and the company's president.

Ultranaughts' leaders believe their style of wide-open, explicit communication — no unwritten rules — could benefit any company. Ultranaughts is giving away a valued homegrown software product, Biodex, as part of a test to see how widely its tools and practices might take root in the corporate mainstream.

Each employee at Ultranaughts has a Biodex profile that states the person's work, communication and feedback preferences. What is your typical response time to

messages — a few minutes, a few hours, same day? If a colleague has constructive criticism, how do you want to receive the feedback — orally or in writing?

Each morning, Biodex sends out a bot message with two questions: How “interactive” — ready to communicate with others — are you feeling today? What's your energy level today? Workers answer on a 1-to-10 scale.

Rajesh Anandan, a co-founder and the chief executive of Ultranaughts, describes Biodex as “a quick-start guide for how to work with a person.”

Ultranaughts is letting teams at about a dozen organizations, from big corporations to start-ups, try out a test version of Biodex. If trial runs with outsiders go well, Ultranaughts plans to make Biodex a free download on the Slack app store by the end of the year. Other Ultranaughts apps, like its program for polling worker sentiment and well-being, would follow.

“We've built an engine that unlocks opportunity for people who haven't had a fair shot before,” Mr. Anandan said. “But if we only do that for ourselves, it won't have much of an impact.”

Mr. Anandan is a former Bain consultant who switched gears and careers. In 2003, he went to work for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and later started an incubator for social ventures at UNICEF. Both he and Mr. Shectman, a software engineering consultant, had known since their M.I.T. days autistic people who struggled to find work.

Many autistic people do well with the structured coursework of school, earning undergraduate and graduate university degrees. But they often stumble at the first hurdle into the job market — the traditional job interview. They tend to struggle with social interaction, speaking informally and reading the nonverbal cues of communication.

That was the case for Leslie Reis. She holds a master's degree in software engineering, but had not had a full-time job until Ultranaughts hired her last year.

Writing, Ms. Reis explained, is how she communicates best. “For a lot of organizations, that was perceived as something that would be a drawback,” she said in an email, “rather than a way for me to participate more fully.”

Ultranaughts does not use work experience to filter job candidates. The company does conduct structured interviews, but hiring is largely based on skills assessments that it has developed to measure traits like the ability to work through new problems and take guidance and apply it. Work simulations are another test.

Tulco, an investment firm in Pittsburgh, hired Ultranaughts this year to do data-quality work. Tulco invests in traditional businesses that it thinks can become more efficient and profitable by applying data science and artificial intelligence, but creating those A.I. algorithms requires sift-

ing through troves of messy data.

Ultranaughts' work has impressed Matthew Marolda, executive vice president for data science at Tulco. On one project, its team cleaned up and loaded a vast amount of information into an A.I. model with remarkable speed, days instead of weeks, he said.

“This is a work force with inherent strengths,” Mr. Marolda said. “They're really good at pattern recognition and really good at detail work.”

Seeking new pools of skilled workers, and prodded by advocacy groups, several companies in recent years have begun programs to recruit and employ autistic workers, including SAP,

Lessons for corporate America in how to hire and motivate far-flung employees.

Microsoft, Ernst & Young and JP-Morgan Chase.

Ultranaughts is one of a handful of small companies and nonprofits in Europe and the United States that employ mainly autistic workers for jobs in technology. Others include Specialisterne, Auticon, Daivergent and Aspiritech. Ultranaughts stands out, experts say, for working entirely remotely from the outset and for developing its carefully crafted combination of digital tools and workplace practices.

Its culture has certainly resonated with Ms. Davila, who is autistic and was hired four years ago, with no formal training in computing. Since then, she has mastered not only programming languages but also skills as a manager.

Ultranaughts has also been her ladder to the middle class. “Before I got the job at Ultranaughts, I was on food stamps,” Ms. Davila recalled. “Now, I own my own house. And it's a nice house in a nice neighborhood.”

VIRUS FALLOUT

Iceland Prepares for Tourism to Make a Comeback

By PAIGE McCLANAHAN

In a normal October, the Radisson BLU Saga Hotel in Reykjavik would be buzzing with tourists hoping for a glimpse of the Northern Lights, business travelers in town for trade fairs, honeymooners gearing up for a tour of Iceland's waterfalls and geothermal spas. This year, of course, things are very different.

"It's surreal," said Ingibjorg Olafsdottir, the hotel's general manager. "It's completely quiet."

Since March, even with government support, Ms. Olafsdottir's staff has shrunk from 140 to just 16. The hotel, which has more than 200 rooms, normally has an occupancy rate of above 75 percent, but it fell to 11 percent in September.

"It's been emotional," Ms. Olafsdottir said, adding that, even after cutting down to bare-bones operations, the hotel continues to rack up debt. "But the thing is, I think everybody is in the same boat here."

Tourism is undergoing an unprecedented downturn all over the world, but several factors make Iceland particularly vulnerable to the industry's crash: geographic isolation, a small domestic population, strict border measures and an economy that — after an extraordinary, decade-long tourism boom — had come to depend heavily on foreign tourists. A recent surge in coronavirus cases has added to Iceland's challenges.

But while visitor numbers are low, Iceland is positioning itself for a major tourism rebound after the pandemic. The government is investing more than \$12 million in tourism infrastructure, while improving roads and harbors across the country. To keep the tourism industry afloat in the short term, the government is also investing more than \$9 million in a program that distributes free travel vouchers to Icelandic citizens and residents. A marketing campaign targeting domestic tourists was rolled out in the late spring; an international version will be unveiled as soon as travel restrictions are lifted.

The government hopes that when people go to book their first post-pandemic flights overseas, Iceland will be at the top of their list.

The tourism boom

A lack of tourists was the last thing that Icelanders were worrying about in 2018, when the country welcomed a record-breaking 2.3 million visitors — more than six times Iceland's population.

It was the height of a tourism boom that most observers trace to 2008, when a steep drop in the value of the Icelandic krona — which was linked to the economic crisis that hit the country that year — suddenly made Iceland much more affordable to outsiders. Then in April 2010, the cloud of ash from the eruption of Iceland's Eyjafjallajökull volcano forced the temporary closure of a large swath of European airspace — and put Iceland into headlines around the world. The government had rolled out the "Inspired by Iceland" marketing campaign just a few weeks after the eruption hit the news, and what started as a travel nuisance turned into a giant publicity boon.

Tourism took off. Visitor numbers rose from 459,000 in 2010 to more than 2.3 million in 2018. Economically, tourism came to account for 8.6 percent of gross domestic product and 39 percent of the country's total export revenue. Roughly 30,000 people — nearly 16 percent of Iceland's work force — were employed in the tourism industry in 2018.

Signs of tourism's impact began cropping up in Reykjavik: Dunkin' Donuts appeared in 2015 (all locations have since closed); a Hard Rock Cafe opened the following year; H&M arrived in 2017. In the countryside, sites that had once welcomed a handful of visitors were full of tour groups. Many tourists were seen parking their camper vans illegally, while others were caught defecating wherever they pleased.

"In a typical summer, you would see camper vans parked just about anywhere," said Jenna Gottlieb, the author of the Moon Iceland travel guide and an American who has lived in Iceland since 2012. "That gets a lot of backlash from people because there aren't toilets in a parking lot or wherever people are parking. It's seen as so disrespectful."

In 2015, a Justin Bieber music video transformed an obscure corner of the Icelandic countryside into a must-see spot for the Instagram crowd. The site — Fjadrargljúfur canyon, which had little infrastructure in place when the video was filmed — was soon inundated with tourists. Iceland's environmental agency later closed the site to visitors in the springtime, when the thawing earth is especially vulnerable to damage.

A survey of tourists in the sum-



GETTY IMAGES



BARA KRISTINSDDOTTIR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The country's decade-long tourism boom was disrupted by the travel restrictions this year, but Iceland is looking to the future by investing more than \$12 million in tourism infrastructure, to both accommodate and control large numbers of tourists. Above right, Bæjarins Beztu Pylsur, a popular hot-dog stand in Reykjavik that usually draws long lines, serves one customer. Below right, construction for a new hotel, Lækjargata.



BARA KRISTINSDDOTTIR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



BARA KRISTINSDDOTTIR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

mer of 2016 found that at all but two destinations — the popular Gullfoss waterfall and Geysir Geothermal Area — a majority of visitors weren't bothered by the size of the crowds. Most Icelanders also remained positive about tourism. Indeed, the industry's rise brought locals many benefits: a broader range of jobs and restaurants, more affordable flights to other parts of the world. Plus, many of them actually enjoyed having visitors. Unlike other European tourist hot spots like Venice and Barcelona, Iceland has no active anti-tourism movement.

Icelanders "are just warm-hearted people who like to have visitors," said Anna Dora Saethorsdottir, a professor of tourism at the University of Iceland. "We are proud of our culture, we are proud of our nature. When you're proud of something, you also love showing it. Most Icelanders are very positive toward tourism."

But still, concerns started to mount. Foreign experts and many Icelanders worried about the pressure that all of those tourists were putting on the country's fragile natural landscape. "Over-tourism" appeared in a travel

story about Iceland in 2016, and use of the term began to spread.

Of course, it wasn't to last. In 2017, the Icelandic krona strengthened, making the country more expensive. In March 2019, WOW Air, an Icelandic low-cost airline, collapsed. Tourist numbers that year declined by about 14 percent, to just under 2 million. And then came 2020.

‘Everyone is crying’

The summer started off fairly well. Coronavirus numbers in Iceland were low and travel within Europe's Schengen Area, of which Iceland is a member, began opening up. Travelers to Iceland could choose either to undergo a virus test on arrival or self-quarantine for 14 days. At the same time, the government rolled out a campaign to promote tourism among the island's roughly 366,000 inhabitants, offering tourism vouchers worth 5,000 krona (about \$36) to every Icelandic resident over the age of 18.

The summer was "pretty good, considering everything," said Bjarnheidur Hallsdottir, the chair of the board of the Icelandic Travel Industry Association and the chief executive of two tourism compa-

nies. "And then suddenly out of nowhere, the government decided to change the rules at the borders. Since then, everyone is crying."

Under the new rules, which took effect on Aug. 19 and are still in place, arriving passengers may choose either to submit to two screening tests for the virus, separated by five days' self-quarantine, or to skip border screening and self-quarantine for 14 days after arrival.

"Given the uptick in infections worldwide and the widespread effect that a small infection can have on the functioning of our society, the Government has decided to strengthen our border-screening measures to further limit the number of infections entering the country," Prime Minister Katrin Jakobsdottir said when the rules were announced.

When the new measures took effect, Ms. Hallsdottir said, tourist numbers plunged. And while virus cases remained low for most of the summer, the country has registered a wave of new infections since the middle of September, even with the new measures in force. Many of the recent cases have been linked to a pair of French tourists who tested positive for the virus when they arrived in the country, but then failed to isolate, Iceland's Visir.is news outlet reported. On Oct. 5, the government ordered bars, nightclubs and gyms to close, and banned most gatherings of more than 20 people.

As in most parts of the world, the tumult of the last several months has triggered a surge in unemployment in Iceland. Between March and August of this year, about 8,000 people — roughly 4 percent of the country's labor force — were laid off, according to Iceland's Directorate of Labour; most of those layoffs were in the tourism industry. Iceland's unemployment rate reached 8.5 percent in August, compared to just 2.5 percent two years earlier. The agency predicted a rise in job losses in September and October.

Ms. Hallsdottir says that tourism operators are now looking to the government to help them cover running costs, or to pay the wages of a few personnel who can keep the companies afloat.

"If no one answers the phone or answers the emails, there will be no tourism next year," she said.

Investing for the future

After the 2008 banking crisis, Iceland's tourism boom helped to propel the country into an impressive economic rebound. But while the rapid growth in foreign arrivals created jobs and revenue, it also outpaced the government's ability to build the infrastructure that was needed to manage so many new visitors. Now, with tourist numbers low, the government has a chance to catch up.

This year, the Icelandic government is investing roughly 1.7 billion Icelandic krona (about \$12.3 million) in infrastructure at both public and private tourist spots across the country, said Skarphedinn Berg Steinarsson, director general of the Icelandic Tourist Board. Roughly 1 billion krona has been set aside for infrastructure at national parks, protected areas and large public tourist sites, while 700 million krona is going into the country's Tourist Site Protection Fund. The investments were already being planned last year, but the government increased the funding after the pandemic hit. Further investments will support harbor and road improvements throughout the country.

The improvements at tourist sites have two goals, Mr. Steinarsson said in an interview, "allowing them to receive bigger numbers — creating parking spaces, walking paths, etc. — but also preserving the nature to make sure that the sites will not be worn down when we get the visitors back."

The largest grants from the Tourist Site Protection Fund are supporting the construction of a viewing platform on Bolafjall Mountain in the Westfjords, he said, as well as infrastructure at Studlagil Canyon, where a viewing platform is being installed as well as new walkways, toilets and information signs. These improvements are meant to keep tourists safe (the Bolafjall site features a steep cliff), while also protecting the landscape from environmental damage and improving the overall visitor experience.

The Studlagil Canyon is an example of a phenomenon that is not uncommon in Iceland: a site that was created not by the hosts, but by the visitors. The canyon — which features dramatic basalt-column cliffs lining the banks of a glacial-fed river — was "discovered" as an attractive destination only recently, Mr. Steinarsson said, after the river's flow was made much calmer following the construction of a nearby hydroelectric plant.

"This is one of those sites that are created on social media," Mr. Steinarsson said. "But there's no infrastructure there, no parking sites, no toilets. What happens when you start allowing 100,000 or 500,000 visitors? Everything gets torn down because nothing is designed to accommodate that."

Now the government is working with the owners of the land to build pathways, parking spaces and toilets. The goal, Mr. Steinarsson said, is to ensure that visitors can enjoy the site "without spoiling anything."

The kind of infrastructure being installed at Studlagil is already in place at most of Iceland's more established destinations, particularly in the Golden Circle — an area not far from Reykjavik that includes some of the country's most famous tourist destinations: Gullfoss waterfall, Geysir Geothermal Area and Thingvellir National Park, among other spots. While the infrastructure in those areas is already fairly good, Mr. Steinarsson said, any areas that are particularly fragile will need continual upkeep — and funding — to protect against damage from visitors.

Plenty of Icelanders would have seen these places over the last several months, and enjoyed them with smaller crowds than usual. A marketing campaign encouraging Icelanders to explore their country was rolled out in the late spring ("Island — komdu með!" or "Iceland — come join us!"), while the government's travel voucher campaign helped to jump-start demand for hotels, restaurants and attractions. So far, Icelanders have used more than \$1.2 million worth of their free travel vouchers, which are valid through the end of the year. The most popular spots have been FlyOver Iceland, an attraction in Reykjavik; Islandshotel, a hotel chain; and Blue Lagoon, the geothermal spa near the country's biggest airport.

"It was a success," said Mr. Steinarsson of the efforts to encourage domestic tourism. "Icelanders really enjoyed their country during the summertime. And that's what counts."

Looking ahead

What will Icelandic tourism look like after travel restrictions are finally lifted? Several people interviewed expressed the hope that future tourists would make longer visits and take the time to explore less popular corners of the country.

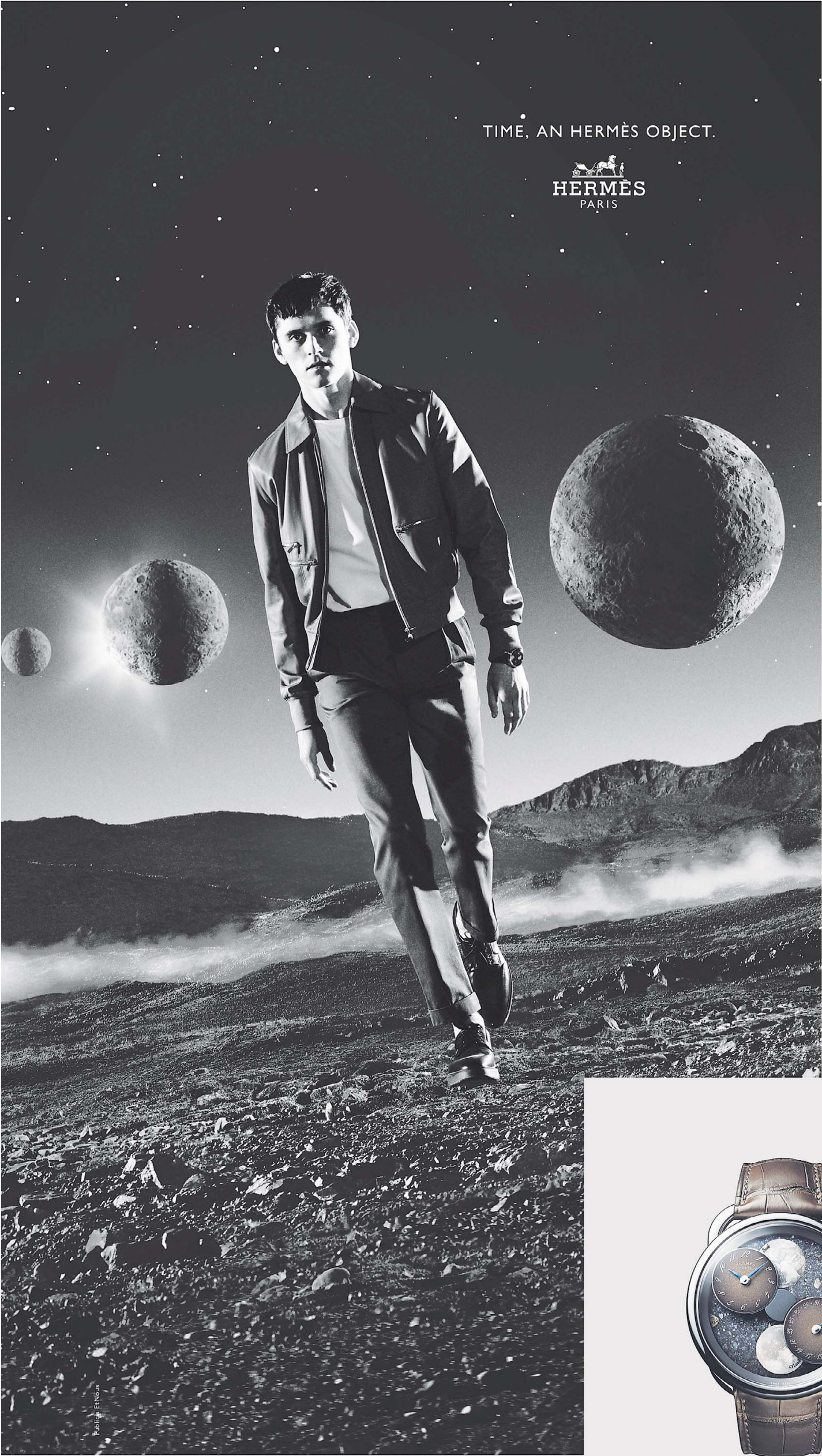
"If you get off the beaten path a little bit — and you don't even have to go that far — you can get more of a remote feeling, a more private version of Iceland," said Ms. Gottlieb, the travel guide author.

It's a kind of travel that seems in line with how consumer attitudes have shifted during the pandemic, said Peter Jordan, head of strategy and research at Toposophy, a destination marketing and management agency. People are looking for "open spaces, fresh air, nature, walking routes, cycling trails, outdoor activities, and perhaps a much slower form of travel," he said in an interview. By those measures, Iceland — which has the lowest population density in Europe — scores very well indeed.

Even Ms. Olafsdottir, the hotel manager, was optimistic about the country's prospects for post-pandemic tourism.

"The population is so small and the country is so big," she said. "For Iceland, that's a huge opportunity."

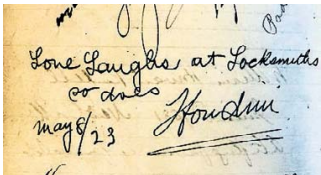
If you need advice about a best-laid travel plan that went awry, send an email to travel@nytimes.com.



Arceau L'heure de la lune
Time flies to the moon

2 BOOKS
Writing about what he knows. BY MJ FRANKLIN

2 AUCTIONS
An autograph seeker's album.
BY JAMES BARRON



3 TELEVISION
David Tennant on what it takes to play a serial killer.
BY ALEX MARSHALL

NEWS | CRITICISM

Arts

The New York Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2020 C1



ROB DEMARTIN

At 71 and Off the Stage, Springsteen Is Still on Fire

With a new album out, the Boss is tapping into ‘a vein of present energy.’

By LINDSAY ZOLADZ

Every music fan with blood burning in their veins has felt the sting of missing live shows since March, but the pain has been particularly acute for Bruce Springsteen, an artist who's spent the past six decades onstage, yet says he's just now hitting his stride.

“I’m at a point in my playing life and artistic life where I’ve never felt as vital,” he said

on a Zoom call from his New Jersey home. “My band is at its best, and we have so much accumulated knowledge and craft about what we do that this was a time in my life where I said, ‘I want to use that as much as I can.’”

Springsteen, 71, was stationed in a small, utilitarian home office with primary-color file folders hanging on the wall in place of flashier décor, to discuss “Letter to You,” his

first record with the E Street Band in six years, and an Apple Plus film of the same name that captures the kinetic experience of recording it last November.

“Letter to You” often harks back to a time much earlier than that, though: The elegiac rocker “Last Man Standing” is an ode to the band Springsteen joined as a teenager, the Castiles (and a meditation on the fact that,

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

From left: Max Weinberg, Benjamin Newberry, Bruce Springsteen, Roy Bittan and Garry Tallent in the studio. A new album with the E Street Band, “Letter to You,” is out Friday.

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK | MICHAEL KIMMELMAN

The Endless Sights of the East Village

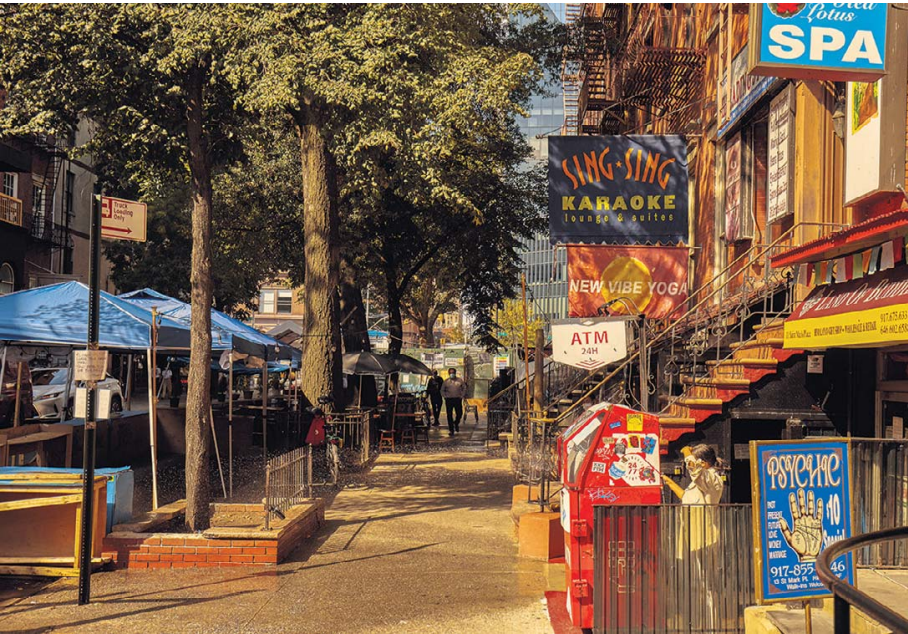
The author Luc Sante takes us on a leisurely tour of the neighborhood, and offers insights into its history.

BY THE 1960S, the neighborhood took on its bohemian title: the East Village, home to Beats, hippies and no wave bands, to Allen Ginsberg, W. H. Auden, Abbie Hoffman, Fillmore East and the Poetry Project, to graffiti artists — and, in recent years, to droves of New York University students.

It used to be simply the northeast quadrant of Manhattan's Lower East Side, where, to repurpose a phrase by another former resident, William S. Burroughs, layers of history are “wrapped around each other like hibernating rattlesnakes.”

During the 17th century, Lenape settlements gave way to Dutch plantations. By the 1830s, the Georgian-style St. Mark's Church in-the-Bowery, which took on a Greek Revival spire and cast-iron portico, had risen on a piece of Peter Stuyvesant's former estate. New York society moved into Federal rowhouses along streets like St. Marks Place. James Fenimore Cooper lived in the one that used to be No. 6. Then tenements joined mansions as waves of German, Jewish, Ukrainian and Polish immigrants arrived, followed, after World War II,

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



ZACK DEZON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

As a tour reveals, St. Marks Place between Second and Third Avenues is quintessential East Village.

The Conners Confront The Covid

In its script and on its set, the sitcom faces the pandemic.

By SARAH BAHR

When “The Conners” returned to set in mid-August after a lengthy pandemic delay, John Goodman had no doubt that every safety precaution had been taken. But his heart still fluttered a bit when it came time to finally get to work.

“That moment before the first mask came off, I held my breath,” said the 68-year-old actor, who plays patriarch Dan Conner in the ABC sitcom.

Sara Gilbert, who stars as Dan's daughter Darlene was also anxious, even though, as an executive producer, she was well aware of the measures the show takes to keep everyone safe. The Los Angeles set is patrolled by two Covid compliance supervisors and the actors are tested five times per week, with everyone else getting tests at least three times a week.

Even so, “when they say ‘Rolling,’ I wait until after the sound cue,” Gilbert said. “And then — at the very last second — my mask comes off.”

CONTINUED ON PAGE C7

Writing a Dramedy, or Something Like It

Bryan Washington’s second book seems to defy all description, including his own.

By MJ FRANKLIN

When describing his new book, “Memorial,” Bryan Washington has called it a gay slacker dramedy, a lowercase love story and a novel about the creases in relationships.

But in September, during a video interview from his home in Houston, he confessed that at times he is winging it.

“I was sort of spitballing different descriptions and throwing things at the wall,” Washington, 27, said. “I liked the idea of the dramedy because what would you call a dramedy? See, nobody knows. So I can just say that and people will have a feeling or an emotional sphere through which the narrative will be, but they won’t quite know. So they can’t quite call [expletive] when it isn’t the thing that they perhaps expected.”

It’s an explanation that matches him: a little guarded, but also funny and considered.

So what, then, is “Memorial” about? It focuses on two Houstonians — Benson, a Black day care teacher, and Mike, a Japanese American chef — in a romantic relationship that may or may not be working. It is further complicated when Mike leaves for Osaka, Japan, where his father is dying of cancer, just as his mother, Mitsuko, arrives in Houston for a visit. She and Benson, who haven’t met before, are left, awkwardly, with each other.

“I was interested in spending time in that transitory period between when a son and a mother’s relationship may change, or a son and a father’s relationship may change, or how the relationship between two partners can change,” Washington said.

Riverhead will publish the book on Oct. 27. A24, the indie distributor behind shows like “Euphoria” and “Ramy,” has already acquired the television rights, and Washington will adapt the book for the series himself.

“Memorial” began as a six-page short story. At the time, Washington was working on another project, but he couldn’t shake Benson and Mike.

“I found myself returning to that first story consistently, partly because it was just easier, and I’m inclined to do things that are easier than not because writing is difficult a majority of the time in any capacity,” he said. After expanding the story a little more, he showed it to agents and friends, who encouraged him to keep going. He worked on it on and off for three years, then made a focused effort for about five months.

“Memorial” is Washington’s second book, arriving just over a year after his story collection, “Lot.” Set in Houston and revolving around young Black and Latino men, often grappling with their sexuality, it was an acclaimed debut.

“Bryan immediately came across as a fresh, electric, fun yet powerful new voice, writing about a place — Houston — that wasn’t really depicted that way in fiction before,” Laura Perciasepe, his editor at Riverhead, said.

“Lot” earned him a spot on the National Book Foundation’s 5 Under 35 list and was among former President Barack Obama’s



ANTONIO CHICAIA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

favorite books of 2019. If Obama’s admiration affected Washington, he doesn’t let on. “Anytime that someone is interested in the thing that you’re doing, I think it’s a little bit strange,” he said. “So I don’t know that the hyper-magnification of that makes it any stranger. It’s just strange to begin with.”

Washington hadn’t really tried writing until he was 21, as an undergraduate at the University of Houston. He found inspiration and encouragement from a creative nonfiction class with the novelist Mat Johnson.

“The feeling of being seen for what you’re trying to do narratively, it’s not one that’s a given at all,” Washington said. “The fact that he took the time and was kind was the impetus for me saying, ‘OK, maybe I’ll keep doing it and see how far I can go.’”

So Washington continued taking writing classes. After he graduated in 2015, he went to the University of New Orleans to get an MFA in creative writing, and sold “Lot” the year he graduated. A few months before “Lot” was published, he sold “Memorial.”

“I was so moved to see this boy come out and just start whupping ass from the jump,” Johnson said. “It was just beautiful.”

Much of the conversation about “Lot” focused on how Washington, who was born in Kentucky and moved to Houston when he was a child, offered a view of gentrification, economic inequality and racism in the city. Now, with “Memorial,” Washington introduces a new city to his oeuvre: Osaka.

He first traveled there in 2015 to visit a friend and has returned several times, he said, “hanging out with friends and going

out to eat, going to sento and the bath-houses and visiting shrines and just, you know, laying around. And he spent virtually all of last summer there while working on edits to “Memorial.”

The time he spent in the city made an impression. “It’s really rare to find any space where you feel comfortable, where you’re privy to the generosity of the folks that are living there,” he said. “And when folks take you in, I think that’s a pretty special thing.”

Part of his mission with the novel was to document Osaka and, once again, Houston. “The intent is for the novel to be as much about the cities as it is about the characters,” he said, “a very particular, very specific picture of these places while keeping the dignity of the cities intact.”

The other star of the book is food: focused, detailed, hunger-inducing descriptions of meals and cooking.

For example, when Mitsuko cooks a meal for Benson, “She proceeds to break down the carcass, bone by bone, stuffing the remains in a pot on the stove for stock. When she’s finished clipping the fat, Mitsuko shakes each limb with a flick of her wrist. Her seasonings are lined up. She douses the meat in what looks like a pool of salt,” Washington writes. “Eventually she pirouettes to the side, flinging the chicken into a pan. It sizzles like a sheet of rain.”

The lush writing about food serves a few purposes in the book, Washington says. “In some ways the food is just food,” he said. But he was also curious to see “how food could act as a vehicle for emotion and for pleasure

Bryan Washington in Houston, where his novel “Memorial” is partially set.

‘I liked the idea of the dramedy because what would you call a dramedy? See, nobody knows.’

BRYAN WASHINGTON

when it wasn’t immediately apparent that that transaction was taking place on the page.”

He does not have any formal culinary training. He started cooking in junior high school because “both my parents worked and I needed to cook if I wanted to eat something,” Washington watched his neighbors cook and began emulating them.

In 2017, he began writing about food — achiote and yaka mein for The Awl, broth for Hazlitt. It wasn’t a subject he planned on specializing in, but his attraction to it makes some sense. “The first books that I actually took to and really read were cookbooks,” he said. “And I was always peripherally reading food writing, whether it was John Bird-sall or it was Tejal Rao or whether it was any number of cookbooks and just sort of peeking through those pages and just seeing how folks do what they do.”

Implicit in a book about changing relationships and titled “Memorial” is the question of what is being preserved. The book preserves Houston and Osaka. It preserves the feeling of being young and lost. It preserves the food that gives us comfort and nourishment and purpose. But there is one thing Washington doesn’t want to preserve: the limited path for writers like him. He wants to evolve it.

With “Memorial,” he said, “Ideally, it’ll kick the stone a little further down the line for books that don’t hit quite down the middle of obvious marketability. And the next person will be able to work on their weird thing, and so will the folks after them.”

For Sale: Mysterious Autograph Hound’s Book

How did the undocumented Lafayette Cornwell get all these notable people to sign?

By JAMES BARRON

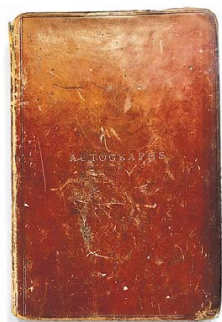
The little book is a relic from the years after the Civil War, when autograph-crazy Americans collected signatures, a central building block of identity before fingerprinting, Social Security numbers or credit cards. A jeweler named Lafayette Cornwell collected more signatures than most people did — 400 or so, starting when he was a teenager.

In time, eight presidents and several first ladies signed Cornwell’s autograph album. So did Mark Twain, Harry Houdini and Thomas A. Edison.

For decades, well into his own middle age, Cornwell had a knack for turning up where well-known people were and persuading them to sign. Sometimes they did more than that. Herman Melville wrote a quote from Shakespeare. Oscar Wilde quoted his own poetry. John Philip Sousa wrote three measures of “The Stars and Stripes Forever.” Mary Todd Lincoln signed “Mrs. Abraham Lincoln,” which David Lowenherz, a collector and dealer, said was unusual. After her husband’s assassination, she usually just signed “Mary Lincoln,” Mr. Lowenherz said.

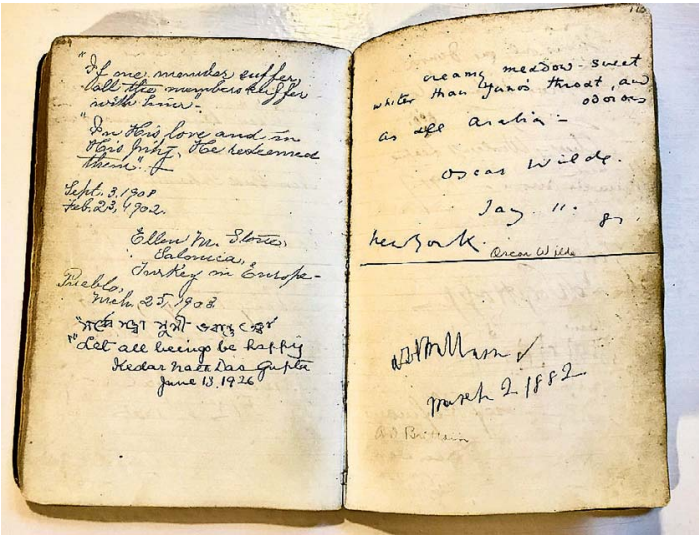
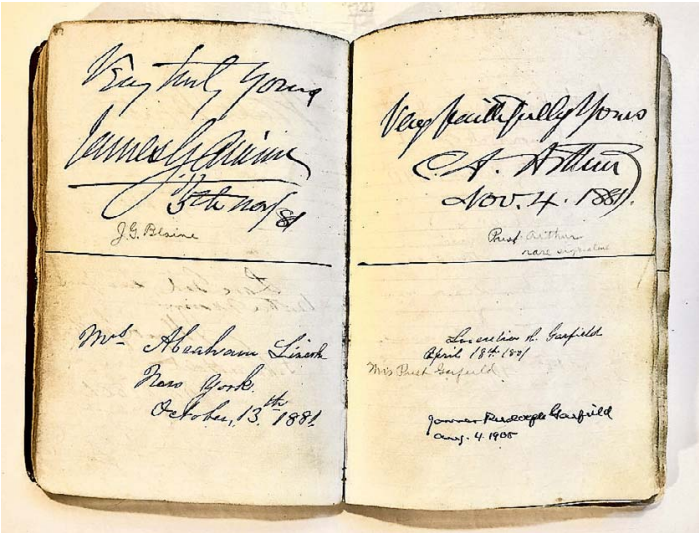
“Cornwell somehow ingratiated himself into so many different situations,” Mr. Lowenherz added. “It was unusual to get more than a signature. He must have said more than, ‘Mr. Melville, would you sign my book?’” Mr. Lowenherz plans to sell the Cornwell autograph album on Wednesday through the online auction platform invaluable.com. The presale estimate is \$30,000 to \$35,000.

When Cornwell approached the actress Sarah Bernhardt, she made a demand, to which he complied: She insisted that her signature be the last in the album, even though it was far from filled when Cornwell boarded her private rail car in 1911. “I write the last!” she had announced, according to Cornwell, who spoke to The New York Times for a 1927 article about the album. She signed the last page and then pasted that page to the inside back cover. “No one must write after me.”



IMAGES VIA LION HEART AUTOGRAPHS, INC.

In all, eight presidents and several first ladies signed this autograph album. So did Herman Melville, Harry Houdini and Thomas A. Edison.



The album began in the 1880s and ended in the 1930s, shortly before Cornwell gave it to a niece. How Cornwell organized the signatures in the book is as unclear as how he obtained so many — they are not in chronological order. Melville and the oil and railroad magnate Edward Stiles Stokes signed on the same day, but 12 pages apart. President James A. Garfield’s son put his signature beneath his mother’s — at least 20 years after she had signed.

Mr. Lowenherz attempted to unravel the mysteries of the album by creating spreadsheets tracking Cornwell’s travels. But for all the famous people Cornwell encountered, he himself remains a question mark. “Here’s a guy who’s so undocumented that it makes his ability to show up and be allowed in to get these autographs all the more astonishing,” Mr. Lowenherz said.

Still, Mr. Lowenherz traced Cornwell from Yonkers, N.Y., to Pueblo, Colo., where Cornwell ran a jewelry store. Apparently his specialty was watchmaking. A 1903 magazine published by a Colorado steel maker said he had “without question the largest repair trade west of Kansas City.” The magazine said Cornwell was also the assistant chief inspector for three railroads.

This helped him get around. When the Statue of Liberty was dedicated in New York in 1886, Cornwell was there — and the French sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, who had designed the new monument, signed his album.

“He was a little like Zelig,” Mr. Lowenherz said, referring to the nondescript title character in a 1983 Woody Allen film whose “chameleon disorder” enabled him to resemble the people he encountered.

“How did he get into these places? What has been fleshed out is he obviously had an interest in politics. And it could build on itself: ‘President Grant signed it in 1880. Would you mind signing it?’ ‘Oh, sure, young man!’” Mr. Lowenherz went on. “But by the end of it, he wasn’t a young man anymore.”

How David Tennant Played a Serial Killer

The devil is in the details when playing a scarily normal yet deeply pathological man.

By ALEX MARSHALL

LONDON — David Tennant has been aware of his “passing physical resemblance” to the British serial killer Dennis Nilsen for a while, he said in a recent telephone interview.

But when it came to portraying Nilsen in the true crime mini-series “Des,” which premiered on Sundance Now last week, he didn’t rely on looks alone. To get into the mind of Nilsen, who admitted to killing and dismembering at least 12 men and was sentenced to life imprisonment for six counts of murder in 1983, Tennant spoke with police officers involved in the case, as well as with Brian Masters, who corresponded with the serial killer for years for a book about Nilsen.

He read some of Nilsen’s own writing (“Ghastly self-serving, egotistical nonsense,” Tennant said). He even learned Nilsen’s signature. One day on set, after filming a scene where he had to sign Nilsen’s name, Tennant pulled up a photo of the original signature on his phone and showed his co-star Daniel Mays just how accurately he’d done it.

“Me getting his signature right probably doesn’t make a difference in the grand scheme of things,” he said. “It’s just part of trying to pay attention to all the details that you can in the hope that they expose a greater truth.”

Tennant’s portrayal of Nilsen was one of the most talked-about performances on British TV this fall. The premiere of “Des” had almost 11 million viewers in its first week, while critics lauded the actor as effectively embodying Nilsen, a government job center employee whose victims were all men and were often gay and homeless. At the time, Nilsen was seen as scarily normal for a serial killer. His co-workers knew him as “Des” — hence the show’s title — a nice, if somewhat dull, colleague.

Claudia Connell in The Daily Mail called Tennant’s performance “breathtaking and career-defining.” Carol Midgley in The Times of London called Tennant “hypnotic.” “To make a character simultaneously dull and mesmerizing takes quite some talent,” she added.

In the telephone interview, Tennant politely dismissed suggestions that his performance was the reason for the show’s success. Viewers were drawn to “Des,” he said, because they were looking to understand what makes a serial killer. “We all just want to understand how these things are possible,” he said.

Tennant, the star of other British shows like “Broadchurch” and “Doctor Who,” also explained how his children stopped him from getting too caught up in the role, the case’s links to today and the ethics of making a drama about a narcissist. The following are edited extracts of the conversation.

Why do you think “Des” was so successful in Britain?

There’s the legacy of it. I’ve always been aware of Dennis Nilsen’s name, and that he was someone who did terrible things. I was



PA IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES



ROBERT VIGLASKY/SUNDANCE NOW

12, 13 when he was arrested. So he cast a long shadow over British culture. And as people, I think we are eternally intrigued and seduced and appalled by how extreme our fellow human beings can become.

And telling these stories is an attempt to understand them, to possibly exorcise the demons of them. And it’s also to memorialize those victims. There were people who really slipped through the cracks in society — that’s who he preyed on — people who didn’t have the means or ability to look after

themselves. It’s an interesting time to be doing this in a way, as we’re entering another phase of economic turmoil where you sense the number of people who aren’t supported by society is growing again.

Was it hard playing a serial killer who everyone said seemed normal without making him relatable?

Well, no, as there’s two different things going on. There’s the job you’re doing as an actor, to portray this individual and make as

Left, Dennis Nilsen, at right, convicted in 1983 of killing and butchering at least a dozen young men. Below left, David Tennant portraying the killer in the mini-series “Des.”

much sense as you can of a human being who appears to make no sense. Then there’s what you’re doing as a larger member of the group making the show, where you’re trying to tell the story appropriately so it doesn’t become a kind of macabre titillation event.

You have to spin the plates and separate off those challenges in a way. On set, playing Nilsen, you’re just trying to justify his choices from his perspective.

You did a lot of research for the role, meeting people involved in the case, reading Nilsen’s writings, watching home video footage of him. Does immersing yourself in a killer’s life like that affect you?

“I don’t know” is the answer, because I’m probably a bit too close to it. If you asked my wife, she’d probably say the research section was more disturbing than filming, because that’s when you’re discovering stuff anew, and it can get a little all consuming. But I have five kids, and they can bring you back to reality quite quickly because they really aren’t interested.

But it was a little different making this. On set, I separated myself a bit more than I normally would. Normally I like to enjoy being at work, but with this I didn’t want to be larky. When you’re wearing the weeds of the killer, as it were, it felt like you had a responsibility to not be taking that lightly.

Nilsen was a bit like an actor in his daily life, playing the role of a normal person and hiding his crimes. Does that similarity to your own profession worry you at all?

I suppose, but aren’t we all actors? Isn’t that part of the human condition? The idea that Nilsen could be having this appalling existence, and then go to work and apparently be rather good at his job, and apparently be rather well thought of too? His friends at work refused to let the police search his desk without a warrant because they didn’t believe he could be capable of the things he was accused of. So he clearly had the very definition of a double life.

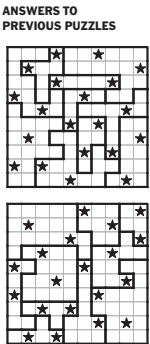
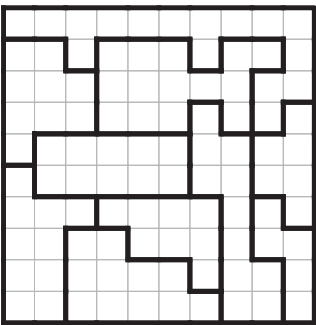
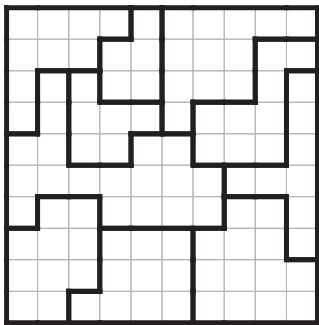
But I think that’s the thing with all these stories, those tiny moments when your own life has a similarity: How close are any of us from stepping into an abyss from which we can never get over again? It’s impossible to ever know, but I think it’s one of the duties of drama to try and unpick why we do what we do.

One thing you do make clear in the show is Nilsen was a narcissist. He’d clearly have loved a show being made about him. Does that make you feel bad having done it?

I am relieved that he’s not around for that very reason. I think perhaps we were liberated by the fact that he’s not here. Because he gets no joy out of this, which is right and proper.

But at the same time, I’m aware that as much as he would have loved it, he would have been furious that we weren’t telling the story from his point of view. That would have infuriated him.

Two Not Touch



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

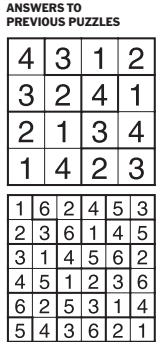
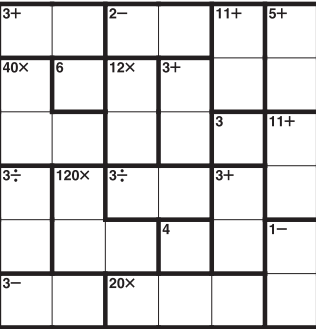
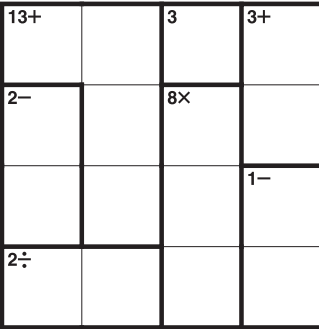
Brain Tickler

Name a bygone city in two syllables, each starting with the letter P. Change the P’s to B’s, and phonetically you’ll get the old name of a well-known modern city.

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY’S ANSWER Signer, reigns, resign

KenKen



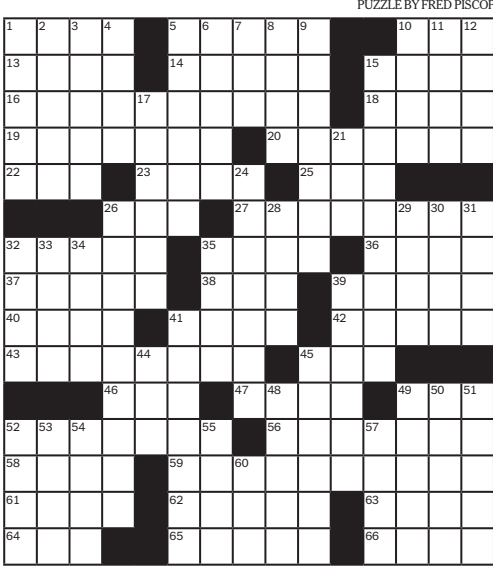
Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

- ACROSS**
- 1 President George or George W.
 - 5 Egypt’s capital
 - 10 “Casablanca” pianist
 - 13 Start the poker pot
 - 14 Catkin-producing tree
 - 15 What an oenologist is an expert on
 - 16 Anger, in the comics
 - 18 ___ and crafts
 - 19 Broadcast time
 - 20 Ill-tempered
 - 22 Harper who wrote “To Kill a Mockingbird”
 - 23 Scores in baseball
 - 25 Bit of sunshine
 - 26 Refrain syllables in “Deck the Halls”
 - 27 Burden too heavily
 - 32 Honda model with a palindromic name
 - 35 Uttered
 - 36 Just sitting around
 - 37 Letter after phi, chi and psi
 - 38 Channel for Erin Burnett and Don Lemon
 - 39 Make catty remarks from the side
 - 40 Trig, calc, etc.
 - 41 Lose color
 - 42 Voice above baritone
 - 43 Love, jealousy and anger
 - 45 Classic distress call
 - 46 Setting for TV’s “Cheers”
 - 47 German car once owned by General Motors
 - 49 Intervening space
 - 52 Peas and peanuts, for two
 - 56 Perfect example
 - 58 Presidential office shape
 - 59 Nervousness, in the comics
 - 61 Arm or leg
 - 62 Country singer Steve
 - 63 Norway’s capital
 - 64 Ginger ___
 - 65 White-plumed wader
 - 66 Many souvenir shirts



- DOWN**
- 1 ___ metabolism (energy expended at rest)
 - 2 Remove a knot from
 - 3 Mall unit
 - 4 Group of buffalo
 - 5 Prickly plant
 - 6 Basketball great Iverson
 - 7 Wedding words
 - 8 Extend one’s tour of duty
 - 9 Arranged alphabetically, e.g.
 - 10 In answer to the request “Talk dirty to me,” she sometimes says “The carpet needs vacuuming”
 - 11 Pantry-raiding bugs
 - 12 See-through material
 - 15 Odor, in the comics
 - 17 Percussion instrument made from a gourd
 - 24 No-goodnik
 - 26 Idea, in the comics
 - 28 Trellis-climbing plant
 - 29 Chief Norse god
 - 30 Big name in dog food
 - 31 Cousin of an elk
 - 32 Easy ___, easy
 - 33 Mosque leader
 - 34 Presidential bill-killer
 - 35 Read the U.P.C. of
 - 39 Calm and impassive
 - 41 Observe through a crystal ball, say
 - 44 “Take me as ___”
 - 45 Group of seven
 - 48 Portrait painter Rembrandt ___
 - 49 Bird in a gaggle
 - 50 Enough
 - 51 Money in Mexico
 - 52 Name spelled out in a Kinks hit
 - 53 Like Satan
 - 54 Minecraft or Fortnite
 - 55 Pirate’s plunder
 - 57 Gait slower than a gallop
 - 60 Blunder

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The Endless Sights Of the East Village

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
by artists, drifters and dreamers.
This is the latest in a series of (edited, condensed) walks around town. The writer and artist Luc Sante is the author of “Low Life,” about the seamy underside of bygone New York, and “The Other Paris,” an alternative history of the French capital. He lived and worked for years in the East Village, although, as a matter of principle, he still calls it the Lower East Side. He writes about his experiences in a new collection, “Maybe the People Would Be the Times.”

“The past is always in flux,” Mr. Sante writes in the Paris book, “as a dynamic undercurrent — in the slope of hills, shape of streets, breadth of squares.” So, too, the past in the East Village, whose streets and architecture, like those throughout the rest of New York, are more than the outcome of blueprints, the arrangements of asphalt, bricks, steel and glass. They are products of collective imagination, containers of memory, moving objects.

Mr. Sante charted a kind of imaginary route for our walk, tracing ghosts in Astor Place, the Strand bookstore, what used to be CBGB, and Tompkins Square Park.

He suggested “meeting” at the corner of Third Avenue and St. Marks Place, the district’s de facto front door.

MICHAEL KIMMELMAN When did you first come to the neighborhood?

LUC SANTE September ‘68. That’s when I started commuting from New Jersey to high school uptown. I would head down to St. Marks Place because it was the gravitational center of all that was groovy. These days I go to see friends and because, knock on wood, B & H is still around.

KIMMELMAN B & H Dairy, the East Village kosher dairy restaurant, 1940s lunch-counter culture.

SANTE I started eating there in the mid-70s when the counter was manned by a trio of insult comedians, true geniuses. B & H survives as a relic of the old Jewish Rialto, the Yiddish Theatre District, the world that was Second Avenue, generations before I arrived. That’s gone now but at least two theaters are still in existence, the Orpheum and the movie house on Second Avenue.

KIMMELMAN You’re talking about the Village East Cinema, at 12th Street, which used to be called the Yiddish, or Louis N. Jaffe Art Theatre, in Moorish Revival style, by Harrison Wiseman from the 1920s, with a Star of David in the lobby. The Orpheum is from the ‘20s as well, I think.

SANTE There were also cafes like the Royal on 12th Street, and institutions like the Hebrew Actors’ Union. The theater district blossomed after the General Slocum disaster emptied out the neighborhood.

KIMMELMAN The city’s deadliest disaster until Sept. 11: General Slocum, a steamship, in 1904 caught fire and sank in the East River, killing more than 1,000 out of the nearly 1,400 passengers. Most were German-American women and children, congregants from the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Mark on East Sixth Street, back when the area was Klein-deutschland.

SANTE The psychological toll was apparently so great that survivors packed up and moved to Yorkville on the Upper East Side. But there are still physical remains of the German neighborhood like the shooting society, the Free Library, the German Dispensary.

KIMMELMAN Now called the Ottendorfer Public Library and Stuyvesant Polyclinic Hospital, neighbors on Second Avenue, both designed by J. William Schickel during the 1880s. And the German-American Shooting Society at 12 St. Marks Place, from the same era, by William C. Frohne.

You arrived the year the Fillmore East opened in another former Yiddish theater, the Commodore, on Second Avenue.

SANTE For me, puberty was rock ‘n’ roll and Ginsberg’s “Howl,” and the Lower East Side was the logical place to find that culture. When I arrived in the neighborhood, the contrast was palpable between newfangled hippie businesses, which had only been going on for five years at the most, and the older, working class businesses. You had hippie boutiques side by side with Ukrainian social clubs and Polish pork stores. Two streams of people intersected with one another’s reality but didn’t really interact.

KIMMELMAN Parallel realities.

SANTE Right. And so you had places like the Dom, the former Polish National Home, which became the Electric Circus.

KIMMELMAN On the north side of St. Marks Place, in what used to be called Arlington Hall before it turned into the Polish National Home, with a ballroom and community hall where a notorious shootout apparently took place between Jewish and Italian mobsters in the 1910s. Andy Warhol and Paul Morrissey rented out the ballroom in the ‘60s and turned it into the Electric Circus. The Velvet Underground was the house band.

SANTE Then it turned into a craft center where most of the neighborhood’s Alco-

holics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous meetings took place.

I lived in an apartment between First Avenue and Avenue A, across the street from a Polish bar with a jukebox heavily laden with Bobby Vinton.

KIMMELMAN Bobby Vinton?

SANTE Because he was Polish-Lithuanian. This was around 1978. The neighborhood was pretty desolate then. I remember hanging out my window at night, hearing the jukebox and no other sound.

And it was dark. People don’t realize there were few cars or working streetlights in the neighborhood. I would sometimes linger at a bar on St. Marks where if you stayed late enough the owner would feed you Beefaroni. I remember sitting outside, drinking and eating my Beefaroni on a dark, empty street where the only streetlight was on the corner. It felt like a clandestine bar open after curfew.

Can I pull the camera back? I want to talk about Astor Place because Astor Place was psycho-geographically crucial in the old days. For people who only know what it’s like today, it was almost unrecognizable then, except for the subway entrance and the “Alamo.”

KIMMELMAN The spinning sculpture of a cube standing on point, by Tony Rosenthal, from the mid-60s. There was the Cooper Union’s great Foundation Building. That’s still there.

SANTE Right, but otherwise it can be hard to imagine the vast, howling emptiness of the place. Now you’ve got the Death Star at the top and that other glass tower at the bottom.

KIMMELMAN I think you mean 51 Astor Place, by Maki & Associates, an office building from 2016, sheathed in reflective black glass, and that bluish condo building called 26 Astor Place Tower by Charles Gwathmey, from a decade earlier. Incongruous is a polite word for its architecture. Maki’s building occupies what used to be the site of Bible House, which printed millions of bibles and, so I’ve always read, helped established the neighborhood as “Book Row.”

SANTE Bible House was long gone by the time I got there, when Astor Place felt like an open square, a zocalo. By the ‘80s it became the site of an enormous wildcat 24/7 flea market. The cops claimed that everything on sale was stolen, but actually stolen goods were sold along Second Avenue after midnight. Astor Place had the impedimenta landlords left on the sidewalk after old tenants died. I found first editions, sensational photographs. A girlfriend wanted a medicine cabinet, preferably wooden and with a mirror, so I walked over to Astor Place and found 14 of them. I bought the best one for five bucks.

KIMMELMAN Sounds kind of wonderful.

SANTE The neighborhood was also reasonably dangerous. Some guy tried to rape my girlfriend one night in the hall of her building, but she got away. She lived on 10th Street near First Avenue next door to a little one-story theater run by a wild experimental actor/writer/director named Jeff Weiss. Every night you’d hear this racket coming from next door. Then at a certain hour — you could time it — Weiss would come barreling out the back door, which would mark the end of the play. Later the theater became the Fun Gallery — the first place to show Basquiat, Keith Haring, Fab 5 Freddy, Lady Pink. The gallery was started by Patti Astor.

KIMMELMAN The underground film star.

SANTE And there was Gem Spa — may it rest in peace.

KIMMELMAN The beloved soda fountain/newsstand at the corner of Second Avenue and St. Marks.

SANTE I preferred the egg creams at Ray’s Candy Store on Avenue A, which is fortunately still around. I shopped at an Argentine grocery on Ninth Street and First Avenue that had baskets filled with fresh eggs. You would compose your own 12-pack. My local video place was a dry cleaner’s called Kim’s, on Sixth Street, which kept rental videos in a corner, then became a famous video rental chain with a flagship store on St. Marks. The internet put Kim’s out of business. Somebody bought the inventory, which is now stored in a castle in Sicily.

KIMMELMAN It’s a cinder block warehouse on the edge of an obscure town called Salemi, but whatever.

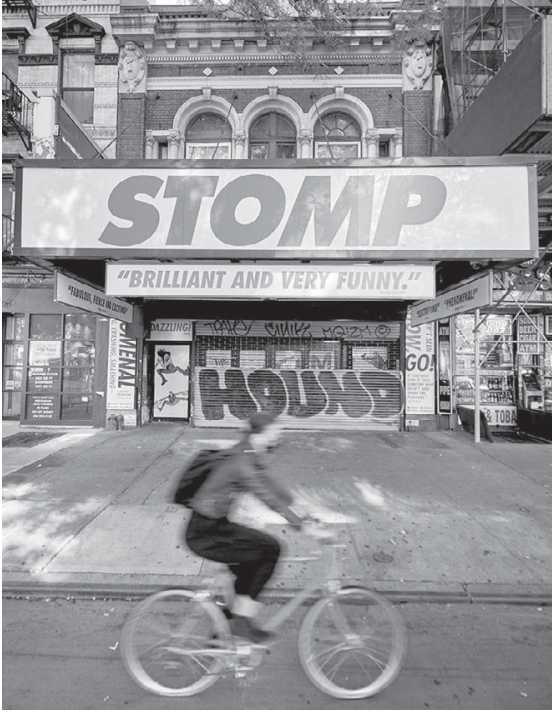
SANTE And there was the St. Marks Cinema, which I think was still a first-run house when I moved down there but by the ‘80s had become a dollar theater. You remember the dollar theaters? They had a gift for perverse double bills.

KIMMELMAN Fassbinder’s “The Marriage of Maria Braun” on a double bill with “Gremlins.” So you were earning enough to consume entertainment?

SANTE I worked at the Strand, which paid the rent. I was the paperback department all by myself. Effectively that meant not only did I deal with all the paperbacks, but when they’d buy a library they’d cull the



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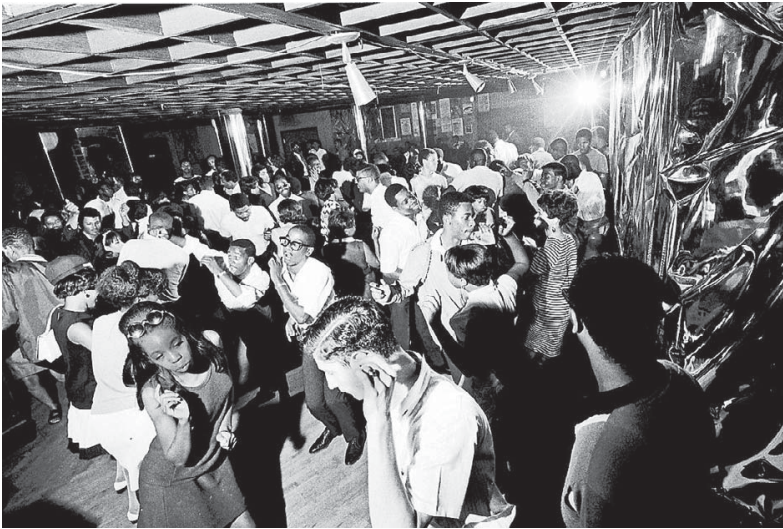
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1 St. Mark’s Church in-the-Bowery, with its Greek Revival spire and cast-iron portico. 2 The Orpheum Theater. 3 The Village East Cinema, at East 12th Street. 4 B & H, whose interior evokes the essence of 1940s lunch-counter culture. 5 The scene, in 1967, at the Dom, which would soon be known as Electric Circus. 6 The dizzying array of snacks available at Ray’s. 7 Outside Gem Spa, a newsstand known for its egg creams, in 1969. 8 A John Varvatos store took over the former CBGB space in 2008. 9 Tompkins Square Park today. 10 Cooper Union’s Foundation Building. 11 The former site of Gem Spa. 12 The Ramones at CBGB in the 1970s. 13 A 1988 confrontation between demonstrators and the police in Tompkins Square Park. 14 A building once known as the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Mark. 15 Stuyvesant Polyclinic Hospital. 16 The former German-American Shooting Society at 12 St. Marks Place. 17 51 Astor Place, by Maki & Associates, is sheathed in reflective black glass. 18 A scene from the Rolling Stones video for “Waiting on a Friend,” inside St. Marks Bar & Grill.



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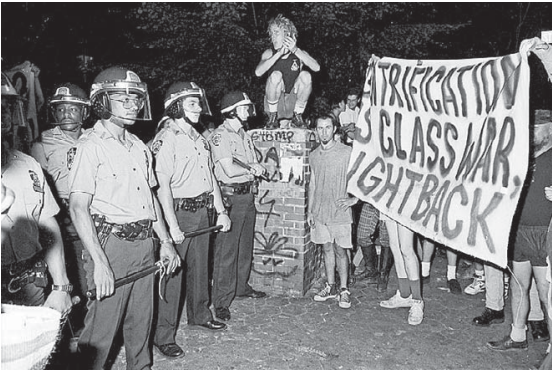
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12 ALLEN TANNENBAUM/GETTY IMAGES



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hardcover books and leave me with whatever was left — photographs, postcards, playbills, business cards, ephemera that I use in my collages to this day. I also put out a magazine called *Stranded*, and most of the contributors were people who worked there.

KIMMELMAN What kind of magazine was it?

SANTE More visual than literary. It wasn't edited, particularly.

KIMMELMAN I'm a little lost, time-wise. When were you publishing *Stranded*?

SANTE Late '70s. I remember the years because I left copies of the magazine on consignment at the 8th Street Bookshop, which I think closed in 1979.

KIMMELMAN I miss the 8th Street Bookshop, which of course wasn't East Village but West Village. I hung out there almost every day after school and would go on weekends with my dad or my uncle Harry before we hit the used bookstores.

SANTE The 8th Street Bookshop gave me a substantial part of my education. But for me the original neighborhood joint was East Side Bookstore, truly of the Lower East Side, featuring underground comics, drug literature, chapbooks from the Poetry Project.

KIMMELMAN Run by James Rose and raided by cops from the Public Morals Squad in 1969. Apparently, the cops noticed R. Crumb's *Zap Comix* No. 4 on sale, and a court found the store guilty of selling obscene literature.

SANTE East Side ran a weekly list of its best sellers in the *Village Voice*. About a third would be literature, a third would be left-wing politics, and a third would be occult woo-woo.

KIMMELMAN Mirroring neighborhood demographics?

SANTE Actually, on a demographic note: there were still quite a lot of old people around. They were the ones who refused to flee to the suburbs. I remember the St. Marks Bar & Grill, on the corner of First Avenue. It was all old men. I once described it in a letter to a friend: a third of the crowd was singing, a third was sleeping, and a third was fighting. Then the Rolling Stones staged a music video there, and it was curtains for the bar. It became a place I never entered again.

KIMMELMAN Is that the meta-story of the neighborhood?

SANTE No, but what was different back then is that we were a self-selected set of young people. We wanted to make things, and we grew tough hides. If your landlord decided not to pay the fuel bill, that was a passing hardship, but we were not living there to enjoy middle-class comforts. It was truly no sacrifice living in those conditions, because we had considered the possible alternatives.

KIMMELMAN You're a nostalgist.

SANTE I'm just describing a moment that quickly passed. CBGB, for example. I started going in '75 when the scene was still small and local. That lasted only a few years.

KIMMELMAN CBGB, on the Bowery, mecca of punk and no wave, home to Television, Patti Smith, Talking Heads, the Ramones.

SANTE And to people like Richard Hell and the Voidoids and the Contortions and Teenage Jesus and the Jerks, conglomerations that included people I knew. At the beginning, standing on the sidewalk outside the club you'd feel like you were on an island or in a clearing in a forest at night — it was pitch-dark everywhere except for the cone of light coming from the club. But by '79, '80, it had already changed, like St. Marks Place, especially between Second and Third Avenues, which became a 24/7 fashion parade. The legend got around. Kids read about the neighborhood in magazines. The scene went from zero to 90 in an alarmingly short time.

KIMMELMAN You had wanted to walk to Tompkins Square Park, which brings us full circle, historically: gifted by the Stuyvesant family to the city, a military parade ground in the 19th century, site of various labor, antiwar protests and later a homeless riot, now Exhibit A for gentrification.

SANTE By the '60s, when I arrived, it was contested terrain between hippies and the Young Lords, the Puerto Rican equivalent of the Black Panthers, who had their headquarters in Christodora House, facing the park where George Gershwin gave his first public recital.

KIMMELMAN Iconic brick Art Deco-style former settlement house by Henry C. Pelton, who also designed Riverside Church.

SANTE The hippies wanted to stage their loud guitar noodlings in Tompkins Square and the Young Lords wanted music that served their community, which meant salsa, and there were tussles. Of course the park was also a major center of drug activity. I remember walking through it and seeing rows of junkies nodding over bottles of orange soda. Then I was there for the riot in '88.

KIMMELMAN Police clashed with squatters living in encampments.

SANTE I happened by, and stayed for hours. Homeless encampments have their historical roots in the park. The southeastern corner used to be famous on the hobo circuit. By '88, the park had become a shantytown, which was not popular with local residents. But the cops overreacted wildly — they rioted. I remember police helicopters flying so low that the backwash from the rotors picked up garbage from the trash baskets, which spiraled up into the air.

KIMMELMAN Tornadoes of trash.

SANTE And just as I was starting to walk back home at 4 a.m., a cop grabbed my shirt and dragged me a dozen feet along the asphalt, shredding my clothes.

KIMMELMAN The riots were ultimately about gentrification.

SANTE Not everyone called it that then. Living in the neighborhood now is safer, shinier, duller. Back then it was like camping out amid the ruins of multiple pasts.



ROB DEMARTIN

Even at 71, Springsteen Is Still on Fire

Above, from left: Roy Bittan, Steven Van Zandt, Bruce Springsteen, Max Weinberg and Charlie Giordano. “I knew I wanted it to be the pure instrumentation of the band,” Springsteen said of the new album. Right, a scene from the “Letter to You” music video.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

after the death of his friend George Theiss in 2018, Springsteen became the only surviving member). And three of the album’s songs originated almost 50 years ago, when Springsteen was an unknown, writing florid, Dylan-esque ballads.

“The record is the first record that I’ve made where the subject is the music itself,” he said. “It’s about popular music. It’s about being in a rock band, over the course of time. And it’s also a direct conversation between me and my fans, at a level that I think they’ve come to expect over the years.”

The closest Springsteen has come to picking up a quarantine hobby (“I’m not a big hobby guy”) has been hosting a Sirius XM radio show, “From My Home to Yours,” a project he’s thrown himself into with palpable gusto. He ran to get his laptop to giddily read off a list of artists whose music has been exciting him recently: J.S. Ondara, Mondo Cozmo, H.E.R., Orville Peck, Larkin Poe and Bon Iver, to name a few. (He said he hasn’t yet listened to Taylor Swift’s “Folklore,” but “all I’ve heard is good things about it.”)

Having the time to listen is, at least, one upside of being stuck in place. “I’ve been really enjoying sort of being deeply back into music,” Springsteen said, “almost like I was when I was a kid. I was always in the record store, looking for the next thing.”

These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

Like everyone else, this year hasn’t exactly gone how you’d expected. You’re putting out a record that you can’t yet tour.

Oh, yeah. I think there’s going to be a process before people are comfortable rubbing up against one another again. But if somebody told me, “That’s never going to happen again” — that would be a big life change for me. That act of playing has been one of the only consistent things in my life since I was 16 years old. I’ve depended a lot on it not just for my livelihood, but for my emotional well-being. So if somebody said, “Five years from now, maybe” — that’s a long time. Particularly at my age. I’m 71, and I’m thinking, “Well I know one thing. I’m in the mood right now to burn the house down for as long as I can.”

I take it you saw the people playing “Born in the U.S.A.” outside Walter Reed when President Trump was there this month. How did that make you feel? Decades after Reagan, people still seem to be misunderstanding that song.

That is my lot in life. [Laughs] That is my lot in life and I have learned to live with it with a smile. I mean, I do believe that as much as it is the writer’s job to write well, it is the listener’s job to listen well. And yet still, on occasion, I’m going to hear something like that.

I still believe it’s one of my best songs, and when we play it, it just has a cumulative power that remains with it. The pride that people feel as a part of that music is true. But to understand that piece of music you need to do what adults are capable of doing, which is to hold two contradictory ideas of one thing in your mind at one time. How



something can be prideful and at the same time call to account the nation that you’re writing about. That was just a part of that piece of music. It’s a song that’s not necessarily what it appears to be.

You got the band back together for “Letter to You.” At what point did you realize it needed to be an E Street Band record?

I knew I wanted to make a record with the band, and I knew I wanted it to be the pure instrumentation of the band: two keyboards, the guitars, the bass, drums and saxophone, and I didn’t want anything else. I didn’t want to demo or have preconceptions of the music, so I didn’t touch the songs until I taught them to the band. My blueprint for what I was doing was basically the two songs that we’d done in the past that were cut completely live. “Darkness on the Edge of Town” and “Born in the U.S.A.,” which is like two takes. So we cut about a song every three hours, we did two a day, and we were done in four days. And on the fifth day, we rested.

Recording wasn’t always that easy for you.

Oh, no, recording used to be hell on earth. I spent years making records sometimes. Even “Western Stars” took a long time. It was not a painful process, but it was a lengthy process.

Aside from the new material, there are three songs on this album that you wrote in the early 1970s. What made you return to them?

I had been working on a box set of music from our vault, so I came across a bunch of those songs that I had recorded for John Hammond, the previous vice president of Columbia Records who discovered me and got me signed. I had done a demo for him in 1972 when I was 22, and these songs were on it, and they were songs I’d written previous to my first record. So I happened to come into contact with that music, and there were a couple of others that I thought might be fun for the band to play.

It’s fun to go back and see how wild my lyric writing was, and how uninhibited it was at a certain moment, and to be able to take that and bring it into the present with the band, and sing it in my voice right now, was a bit of a joy ride. The thing about those songs, every line is insane! And somehow they end up making sense about something. I’m not sure how I did it at the time.

I hear you grappling a lot with spirituality on this record, especially in a song like “The Power of Prayer.”

As I’ve gotten older, I’ve kind of become a spiritual songwriter just by nature, by the

things I’ve grown interested in. At the end of the day I’m writing about my own spiritual life, and I’m addressing yours. We make a lot of music that addresses the soul, that’s the nature of our band. Whether I heard, as I say on the record, Ben E. King’s voice, or the Drifters, some of the otherworldly doo-wop of the early ’60s — I just find a great essence of spirit in them. It was something that I wanted to communicate when I wrote my own music. It’s not sort of dogmatic or overblown, there’s no religion in it. There’s just spirit, I hope.

Between your book, the Broadway show, and now the “Letter to You” film and some of the reflections on this album, I get the sense that you’re starting to think about your legacy.

Legacy was on my mind when I was like, a kid. The older you get, the more you realize — who the [expletive] knows! [Laughs] Who knows what’s going to last and not last.

John Sayles, a director friend of mine, said, “I make my movies for right now. I make them for the audience that’s going to come and see them right now and take them into their lives.” Because nobody knows what’s going to happen tomorrow. And I’ve sort of taken that as my mantra the past 20 or 25 years, that my records are for today. They’re for what they’ll do for you right now and that’s where I find the joy in them, and the joy in my audience.

I think the projects that I’ve done that were summational in a sense — the book was, the Broadway show was, even this film — it’s sort of just stopping for a moment and taking stock of what you’ve done and where you are at a critical point in your life, which I think, once you hit 70, you’re there. But I look at it as, that’s what I’ve done up to this piece of my work. I still see vital work ahead.

I just try to find a vein of present energy in what I’m doing and in the language that I’ve learned to make my music both current and relevant at this point on. I think if you keep the inner spirit of what you’re doing alive you remain relevant. I remember playing behind Roy Orbison in 1988, I was surprised at how incredibly present and current his music felt, and it was all because that was the way he was singing it. I realized, it was not old to Roy. It was not nostalgia to him. It was as alive in his heart and in his spirit in 1988 as it was in 1960.

It’s interesting that you made a record and a film that are in some ways both about the primacy of playing live music at a time when we can’t really experience that, and maybe we feel an extra sense of yearning for it.

I grew up in a golden age for rock bands. Back in 1967, if the beach club wanted to hire a band, they had to hire teenagers. And so you played the Elks Club, the firemen’s fairs, high schools, bowling alleys, pizza parlors; you played every place where they could move chairs and create a dance floor on Saturday night. And you played hundreds of those shows.

I really benefited from growing up during that particular period of time. It’s still evident in the ability that the band has to play live. The level of craft that we bring to live shows is a result of playing a thousand nights before I signed a record contract. When I see young bands, I tell them, you’ve got to learn how to play live. It’s still important, and it’s an experience that cannot yet be simulated.

JEOPARDY!

CLUE OF THE DAY

PHRASES FROM LITERATURE

THIS 2-WORD PHRASE IN “THE ARABIAN NIGHTS” MAY HAVE COME FROM AN HERB BEARING SEED PODS THAT BURST WHEN RIPE

FOR THE CORRECT RESPONSE, WATCH JEOPARDY! TONIGHT OR LOOK IN THIS SPACE TOMORROW IN THE TIMES.

Friday’s Response: WHAT IS “APPALACHIAN SPRING”?

Watch JEOPARDY! 7 p.m. on Channel 7

This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY JULIA CARMEL

Monday

THE VOICE 8 p.m. on NBC. Gwen Stefani returns to the show as a coach alongside Kelly Clarkson, John Legend and Blake Shelton for the 19th season. Hosted by Carson Daly, the new season kicks off with blind auditions, where the coaches begin to claim their team members.

THE THIRD DAY 9 p.m. on HBO. The season finale of this HBO limited series, which follows a man named Sam (Jude Law) and a single mother named Helen (Naomie Harris) as they separately explore the mysterious island of Osea. The show's six episodes are split into seasons: "Summer" follows Sam; "Autumn" spends a day at the island's festival, "Esus and the Sea," and this last episode of "Winter" wraps up the show as Helen searches for answers.

Tuesday

HALLOWEEN (1978) 6 p.m. on TCM. John Carpenter's horror classic is about the murderous Michael Myers, who stalks a young babysitter named Laurie Strode (Jamie Lee Curtis) on Halloween. The movie, which was later spun into a full franchise, was retroactively reviewed by Jason Zinoman for The New York Times in 2018. "The precision and timing of the movie's chilling chase scenes reveal an artist who understands that truly resonant scariness could not be dumb," Zinoman wrote. "It required deft craft and a coherent perspective on fear. Horror common wisdom states that the scariest evil is unknown, inexplicable and random; once the monster is revealed in a movie and the mind makes sense of it, much of the fear it inspires dissipates."

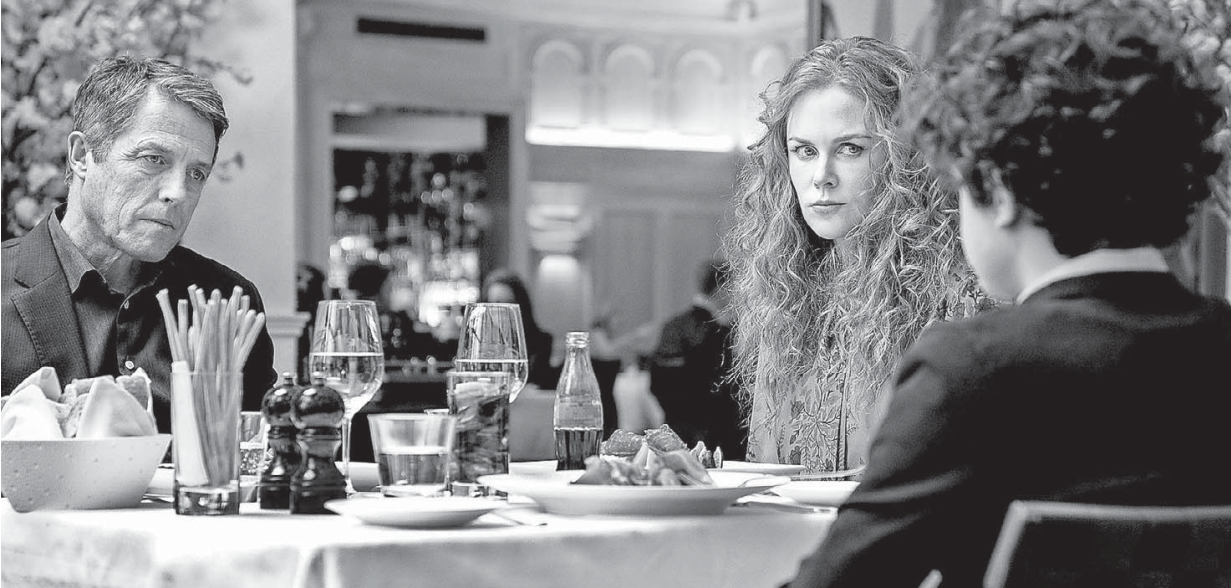
2020 WORLD SERIES TBD on Fox. The 116th World Series kicks off with Game 1. The best-of-seven series continues with Game 2 on Wednesday and Game 3 on Friday. Because of the pandemic, all games will take place at Globe Life Field in Arlington, Tex.

Wednesday

537 VOTES (2020) 9 p.m. on HBO. Billy Corben's documentary explores the political mechanisms that govern the United States, focusing on how George W. Bush — whose victory depended on support from Florida — won the state in 2000 by just 537 votes. With interviews from insiders and political operatives, the film looks at how a custody battle over 6-year-old Elián González, a Cuban refugee, caused political chaos in Miami, which ultimately helped swing the crucial state.

BLACK-ISH 9:30 p.m. on ABC. After two election specials — which aired in early October — the seventh season of this award-winning show picks up where the Johnson family left off as Laurence Fishburne, Anthony Anderson and Tracee Ellis Ross return to the small screen. The Los Angeles family continues grappling with issues of race, police brutality and identity in America, focusing on topics like the coronavirus pandemic, voting and social justice.

Dates, details and times are subject to change.



NIKO TAVERNISE/HBO

Hugh Grant and Nicole Kidman in "The Undoing," a new mini-series on HBO. In the series, the couple's apparently comfortable life is about to be upended.

Thursday

FINAL PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE 9 p.m. on ABC, CBS, Fox and NBC. After the second presidential debate was canceled and replaced with two separate town halls, this second and final debate will take place at Belmont University in Nashville. The NBC News White House correspondent Kristen Welker is slated to moderate the debate, choosing six topics for President Trump and Joe Biden to discuss.

Friday

AMERICAN SELFIE: ONE NATION SHOOTS ITSELF (2020) 9 p.m. on Showtime. Alexandra Pelosi (the daughter of Nancy Pelosi) directs this documentary, which explores how Americans feel about the coronavirus pandemic, the nationwide protests against police violence and the country's stark political divisions. "The purpose of this film was to take the temperature of how people feel about America today — to take a selfie of how America looks in 2020," Pelosi said in a statement. "It's an artifact of this moment in time."

HOW TO WITH JOHN WILSON 11 p.m. on HBO. This six-episode comedy premieres on HBO with John Wilson (below) hosting from behind the camera. "It's kind of like that show 'Planet Earth,'" Wilson explains in the show's trailer, "but if it was only in New York and David Attenborough was forced to film everything himself."



Saturday

CITIZEN KANE (1941) 5:45 p.m. on TCM. Orson Welles's Oscar-winning feature is considered by some critics to be the greatest film ever made. "It can be safely stated that suppression of this film would have been a crime," Bosley Crowther wrote in his review for The Times. "For, in spite of some disconcerting lapses and strange ambiguities in the creation of the principal character, 'Citizen Kane' is far and away the most surprising and cinematically exciting motion picture to be seen here in many a moon. As a matter of fact, it comes close to being the most sensational film ever made in Hollywood."

CARRIE (2013) 7:45 on AMC. Julianne Moore and Chloë Grace Moretz star in this remake of Brian De Palma's 1976 film. "Blood runs through 'Carrie,' first as a symbolically suggestive trickle — initially as an unholy brew of menstruation and the blood of Christ — and then in great, gushing waves as the body count mounts," Manohla Dargis wrote in her review for The Times.



MGM AND SCREEN GEMS

Julianne Moore in the 2013 remake of "Carrie," Brian De Palma's 1976 horror classic.

In the New Season, 'The Conners' Confront the Covid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

When the coronavirus pandemic intensified in March, it forced Hollywood to shut down production for months. Most shows interrupted by the pandemic were back on set, with coronavirus protocols, by September, though some didn't survive the break — series including ABC's "Stumptown," Netflix's "GLOW" and Showtime's "On Becoming a God in Central Florida," which all had new seasons planned or in the works, were canceled by their networks.

Those that did return to production had a choice to make: Should they pick up where they left off and resume pandemic-free storytelling? Or should they deal with the coronavirus and its disruptions within their narratives?

For "The Conners," which from its earliest days as "Roseanne" has dealt with everyday difficulties like depression, divorce and job loss, it was never even a question.

"We've always tried to represent blue-collar, middle-class families," Gilbert said. "To pretend this isn't happening seems out of touch."

"Life-and-death stories are familiar territory for us," she added. (The show's original matriarch, Roseanne Conner, was killed off via an opioid overdose after Roseanne Barr was fired for comparing on Twitter a former Obama adviser to an ape. The show title was subsequently changed from "Roseanne" to "The Conners.")

When the series returns on Wednesday for its third season, viewers will watch the family grapple with the same issues as the rest of the country: Dan is on the verge of losing the family home. His sister-in-law, Jackie (Laurie Metcalf), is trying to keep the family restaurant alive by making deliveries on her bike. Darlene and her boyfriend, Ben (Jay R. Ferguson), are wondering whether to shutter their start-up magazine. Dan's oldest daughter, Becky (Lecy Goranson), is navigating the return of her undocumented husband, Emilio (Rene Rosado), who is caring for her baby while hiding from immigration authorities.

Of course, it's hard to avoid incorporating



ERIC MCCANDLESS/ABC

the pandemic when it seeps into every aspect of life on set. Like every other returning series, "The Conners," led by the showrunner, Bruce Helford, and executive producers Dave Caplan and Bruce Rasmussen, has had to radically reconfigure nearly every element of its production for pandemic safety.

Before the cast and crew set foot onstage, they have passed two temperature checks, filled out a symptoms questionnaire and passed a Covid test within, at minimum, the last two days. Hair and makeup are done with masks and visors — Gilbert said she finishes the area around her mouth herself. Props are sanitized between each take, and the show is filmed without an audience and with a limited crew. And enforcement, Gilbert said, is rigorous. "You can't eat or drink onstage," she said. "Not even water. You have to go up to your dressing room."

But processing the approximately 350 weekly tests and installing upgrades like sanitizer stations and HEPA filters does not come cheap, Helford said.

"It's well into the six figures, additional, to do this," he said. "We had to cut holes in

Lecy Goranson and John Goodman in the new season of "The Conners," which deals with mask variations and other pandemic stresses.

'Life-and-death stories are familiar territory for us.'

the wall for better ventilation and refit all the AC systems, plus the constant cleaning." More than two months into shooting, the show has yet to see a positive test.

Gilbert said the most difficult on-set restriction to remember is the six-foot rule. "The writers tend to just walk over and run an idea by one another," she said. "But now we have to be reminded 'SIX FEET!'"

Helford said they try to set a good example for viewers watching at home. "Characters can pull their masks down if it's a scene with someone they live with," he said. "But if they're out in the workplace and around people, they keep their face shields on."

Goodman said not having spectators on set, while dispiriting, can actually be a benefit. "It's quite frankly easier to time things when you don't have people to laugh at them," he said.

Gilbert said that the series will not dwell on the darkest parts of the pandemic — "People get that on the news every day," she said — but that the show, which is set in the current moment, will reflect real-world events. The second episode of the season airs Oct. 28, six nights before Election Day and three nights before Halloween. She said the Conners will celebrate their favorite holiday with some in-home trick-or-treating — and that politics may come up.

"But it's not through the lens of 'I'm for this guy!'," she said. "It's 'How does what's going on affect my family economically?'"

The writers also drew on their personal experiences in writing the new season, Caplan said. He, Helford and Rasmussen all "come from low- to middle-income working-class families," Caplan said. "So even if the stories aren't exactly ours all the time, they're emotional and honest."

Helford said they wanted to spotlight the struggles of small business owners through Jackie's battle to save her restaurant, the Lanford Lunch Box, as well as address the increased anxiety the pandemic has created among children. "Mark, the youngest boy, is definitely bothered by this the worst," he said, referring to Darlene's son (Ames McNamara). "He's the one standing outside

the door checking everyone's temperatures, making everyone crazy."

Other pandemic-focused programs, like the Freeform series "Love in the Time of Corona," starring Leslie Odom Jr. and his wife, Nicolette Robinson, as spouses navigating life during the pandemic, and HBO's "Coastal Elites," a series of satirical monologues, have received mixed reviews.

"The most notable thing about most of them is that they were done at all," James Poniewozik, the chief TV critic for The New York Times, wrote in a recent appraisal of pandemic shows. "But none of them had to sustain the approach for a full season."

But Gilbert thinks "The Conners" can serve as counterprogramming to a news cycle that highlights rising case counts and political posturing. "There's so much fear and anxiety," she said. "But we're looking at how the pandemic is affecting this family, and humor is definitely a part of that."

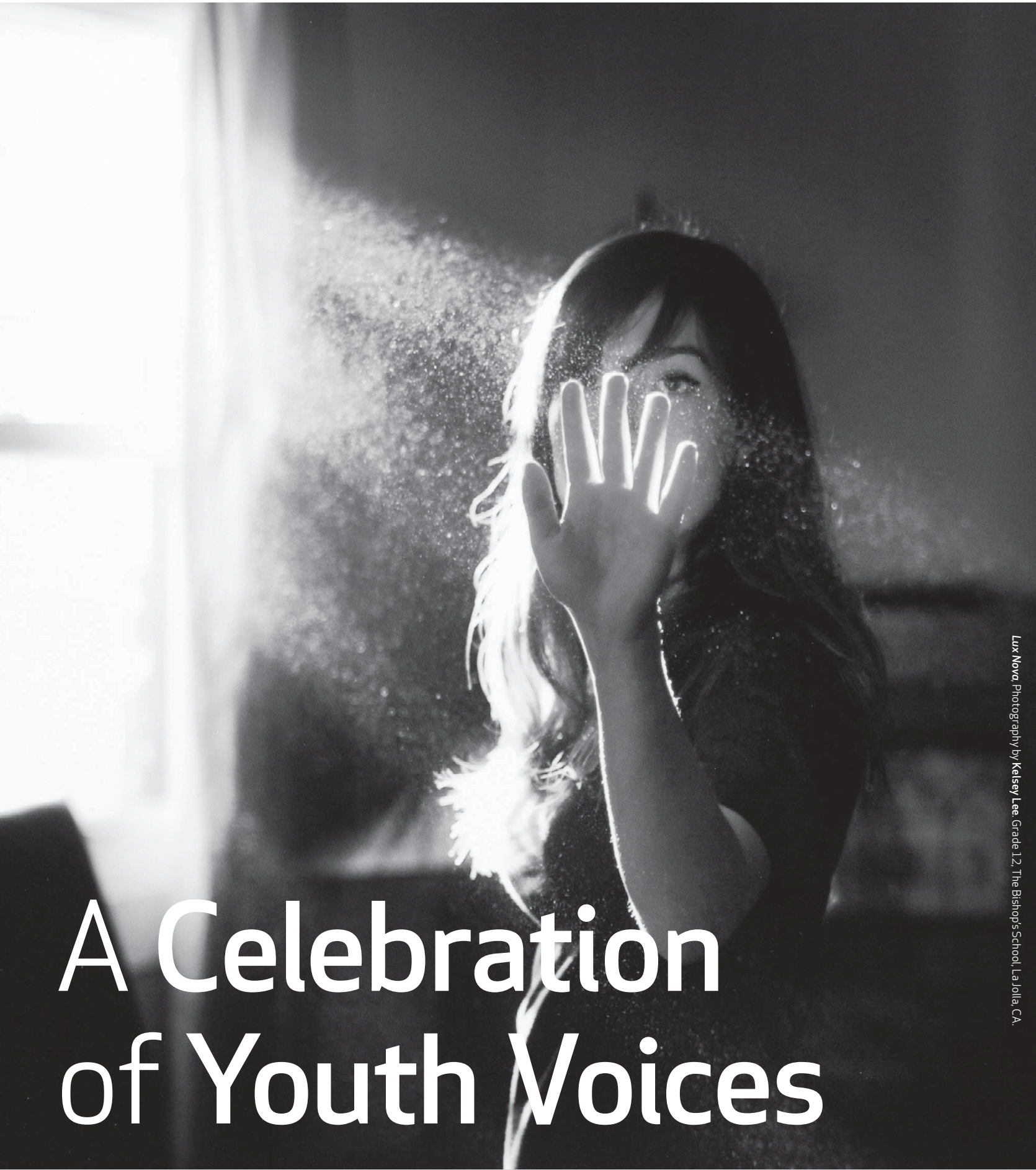
Some of the moments that resonated with the actors were unexpected. Goranson, who has been living alone in Los Angeles since March, said a scene in the third episode proved surprisingly emotional.

"Becky is quarantining with her family, and I was not able to," she said. "But in the scene, she says something about being alone, and it was almost confessional because it was so true to what I had experienced."

Goranson's mother died in January, and she said her family has not been able to hold a gathering for her. "One thing my mom told me before she died was 'So little matters other than people,'" she said. "And that seems like cruel irony right now, because I haven't been around anyone I love since she said that."

It is unclear how long the pandemic will infect the Conners' fictional town of Lanford, Ill., just as it is uncertain how long masks and social distancing will remain the norm in America. But Goodman said that he tries to remain upbeat.

"It's just another damn thing we have to deal with," he said. "I'm thrilled we're able to make a show at all."



Lux Nova. Photography by Kelsey Lee, Grade 12, The Bishop's School, La Jolla, CA.

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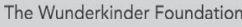


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2 PRO BASKETBALL

Key needs for the two-star Nets and 29 other teams.

4 PRO FOOTBALL

What we learned during a huge day for Derrick Henry.



7 SOCCER

Virgil van Dijk’s knee surgery will dent Liverpool’s Premier League title hopes.

SCORES | ANALYSIS | COMMENTARY

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SportsMonday

The New York Times

A Field Where Women Lift Women



EZRA SHAW/GETTY IMAGES

By JAMES WAGNER

When Alyssa Nakken in July became the first woman in major league history to coach on the field, it was big news in the baseball world. But it was a particularly extraordinary development in one small corner of the industry: a text message group featuring dozens of women working in professional baseball.

Several members said they were overjoyed at Nakken’s achievement. Others said they planned to buy her No. 92 San Francisco Giants jersey. When someone shared an illustration of Nakken breaking down a brick wall encircling a baseball field, it quickly became the group’s photo on WhatsApp.

“You can share this moment with somebody else, but maybe they don’t understand the importance of it,” said Andrea Nuñez, 27, a minor league strength and conditioning coach with the Los Angeles Angels. “To be able to have the women in that group to

‘If there’s something going on, I can share it with them and they’ll get it. They just get it.’

ALYSSA NAKKEN, Giants coach, on colleagues in the “Women in Baseball” text message group

share excitement with was so awesome.”

This “Women in Baseball” text chain, though, is more than simply a place to celebrate promotions. For the 49 women involved — all of whom work full time in professional baseball — it is a rare space for support, brainstorming and understanding.

They discuss their experiences in a male-dominant industry known more for its tradition than its progressivism. They talk about the discrimination they have faced. They trade ideas on player devel-

opment or management. They chat about improving the diversity within the sport. They check in on one another.

“I have a group family chat with my parents, my brothers and my sisters-in-law, and after a hard day or a really good day, it’s really fun to text them,” Nakken, 30, said. “This is like another type of family that I feel like, if there’s something going on, I can share it with them and they’ll get it. They just get it.”

The text chain is the brainchild of Jen Wolf, 33, a life skills coordinator in the Cleveland Indians’ farm system. Sensing a void in support groups for women in baseball when she was in between jobs, Wolf started the text chain in the summer of 2019 with fewer than 10 people. The earliest members invited other women, who invited others, and the group now includes scouts, major and minor league coaches, education coordinators, media relations

Continued on Page D6

Alyssa Nakken, top, the first woman to coach on the field in the majors, is among dozens of women in pro baseball who chat with one another about player development, diversity efforts and more.

How the W.N.B.A. Became an Avatar of Social Activism

By JONATHAN ABRAMS and NATALIE WEINER

From the beginning of their more than two decades on the court, the players in the W.N.B.A. have defied society’s expectations.

Sheryl Swoopes, a marquee founding member of the league, found out she was pregnant just before the league’s inaugural season in 1997 — and started playing six weeks after giving birth, setting a precedent for many female athletes who didn’t want to put their careers on hold to have children.

Then, in 2005, Swoopes became one of the highest-profile active athletes to that point to come out as a lesbian. She didn’t think the announcement was a big deal at the time. But, she said, “I still get messages from people saying, ‘You saved my life,’ from parents saying, ‘Thank you for helping me understand my child.’”

Today, challenging the status quo is a hallmark of the league’s players. They pushed the envelope long before it came into vogue among modern-day professional athletes, and led the way in protesting social injustice and racism.

The breadth of action among W.N.B.A. players is unparalleled among professional sports leagues.

They include singular efforts like Simone Augustus’s opposition to a ballot measure in Minnesota aimed at amending the state constitution to ban same-sex marriage, Maya Moore’s basketball sabbatical to focus on criminal justice reform and Natasha Cloud’s fight against gun violence.

Often they include unified undertakings, such as the league’s dedicating the 2020 season to Breonna Taylor, a Black woman who was killed by the police, and the players’ collective stand against the co-owner of the Atlanta Dream, Senator Kelly Loeffler, Republican of Georgia, who had criticized their support for the Black Lives Matter movement.

This off-season, many players have quickly transitioned from playing basketball to focusing on encouraging people to vote.

How the league in some cases pioneered or foreshadowed today’s wave of activism among professional athletes is

Continued on Page D3



PHELAN M. EBENHACK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Members of the Connecticut Sun kneeling during the national anthem before a game in August. The league has been at the forefront of on-court demonstrations for social and racial justice.

PRO BASKETBALL

Reload, Retool or Reset: A Proposal for Every Team

Western Conference

THE CONTENDERS

Los Angeles Lakers
Anthony Davis has a player option this off-season, and if the Lakers persuade him to sign an extension, that's a success. With Davis and LeBron James, the team would remain title favorites even with Statler, Waldorf and me rounding out the starting line-up.

Los Angeles Clippers
The Clippers were an expensive Hollywood production with A-list stars meant to win it all during awards season. But instead, they were upstaged by less established talent. In other words, they were Netflix's "The Irishman."

Their path forward is not ideal: They probably won't have much cap space. Montrezl Harrell, the sixth man of the year, and Marcus Morris are unrestricted free agents. They don't have a first-round draft pick, and their two stars, Kawhi Leonard and Paul George, can leave after the 2020-21 season.

The Clippers have to bank on one thing: that Ty Lue is the right coach to replace Doc Rivers. Chemistry was an issue all season, so in theory, Lue could come along and fix that, given Leonard and George's talent.

Denver Nuggets
The Nuggets are in one of the better positions in the league: Their franchise cornerstone, Nikola Jokic, is locked up through 2022-23. He has a solid, if inconsistent, secondary player in Jamal Murray, signed through 2023-24. They have some big contracts coming off the books, freeing cap space.

But their most crucial move might be right under their noses. Jerami Grant was a solid contributor on both ends and can test the free-agent market. The Nuggets would do well to keep him.

Golden State Warriors
All the Warriors have to do this off-season is wrap Stephen Curry in cellophane. If the Warriors are healthy next season — this means a rested Curry, Klay Thompson and Draymond Green — Golden State will be a solid title contender.

THE MAYBES

Houston Rockets
The Rockets need to surround James Harden and Russell Westbrook with shooting. They showed that their miniball style can work, but Westbrook's jump shooting woes became an issue in the postseason, and Houston needs someone to take the pressure off Harden.

The Rockets, with no cap space, will have to solve this either through trade or free agency on the cheap. Kyle Korver and Isaiah Thomas might fit the bill here offensively, but defensively — yikes.

Oklahoma City Thunder
This is an attractive franchise: a bevy of future draft picks, compelling young talent like Shai Gilgeous-Alexander, a head coach opening. And Chris Paul, at 35, showed he was still one of the best point guards in the game.

There is not much for the Thunder to do, other than try to hit home runs with their two late-first-round draft picks. Relax and enjoy the ride. See the light at the end of the tunnel. They do not have enough cap space to attract a top-tier free agent to play alongside Paul. The team's most tradable asset is Steven Adams, who has a roughly \$27.5 million expiring contract. But the team is best off letting it expire rather than taking on other contracts. Be as competitive as you can until 2021-22, when you will have cap space, draft picks and maybe Paul to make a legitimate run.

Utah Jazz
The Jazz are capped out, both in salary and their talent ceiling. They're not good enough to play with the Lakers, but they're not bad enough to get lottery picks. Rudy Gobert has a \$27.5 million expiring contract, and given his pandemic-related tensions with Donovan Mitchell, it's worth asking whether the team would be better off with a center who can space the floor.

Dallas Mavericks
Upgrade defensively. They'll have their midlevel exception and a first-round draft pick to do so. They have two franchise blue chips in Luka Doncic and Kristaps Porzingis, but the team was 18th defensively last season. (A caveat: Porzingis just had surgery to repair a meniscus injury in his right knee. He has had trouble staying healthy for most of his career, but he really showed his potential in the playoffs.)

Bonus: Give Boban Marjanovic more playing time. Because the world is suffering and we need a smile.

Portland Trail Blazers
This team barely got to an eighth seed, an underwhelming campaign. But if Jusuf Nurkic and Zach Collins can be healthy for a full season, the Blazers will be formidable. Maybe. Or Portland can hope that an opposing star insults Damian Lillard's rap talents, fueling an aggrieved run for the ages.

Memphis Grizzlies
Poke the bear. Constantly remind Ja Morant that one basketball writer out of 100 did not choose him to win the Rookie of the Year Award. Text him every morning. Mention it at every practice. Send him an accidental email with the subject line: "Man, I wish we had Zion Williamson. He might've had a better rookie year."

Phoenix Suns
Move the team's home arena to Walt Disney World, where the Suns went 8-0 in the bubble. Aside from that, the Suns are one of the few teams with lots of cap space and a lottery pick. It's a less top-heavy draft class than usual, but Danilo Gallinari and Montrezl Harrell are legitimate free-agent targets for them.

THE MAYBE-NOTS

San Antonio Spurs
Promise Coach Gregg Popovich that he won't have to do any more sideline interviews, and the Spurs will go 82-0. Aside from that, much of their off-season will hinge on whether DeMar DeRozan will opt in for the final year of his contract. The Spurs should hope he stays. Under the radar, DeRozan has played some of the best basketball of his career in San Antonio.

Sacramento Kings
Trade Buddy Hield, who has not so subtly suggested he wants out of Sacramento, and hand the keys over to Bogdan Bogdanovic, a restricted free agent. Hield is a young, talented guard on a reasonable contract who can net the Kings some assets. If this drags on, the Kings will lose leverage.

New Orleans Pelicans
Find the right coach for Zion Williamson. Players are more likely than ever to force their way off teams, even when they are locked into contracts. Any year of Williamson's prime that is squandered with a coach who doesn't mesh with him is an invitation for Williamson to try to leave when he can, as LeBron James did in Cleveland.

Minnesota Timberwolves
Minnesota has the No. 1 pick in the draft, as well as a Nets first-rounder. The Timberwolves have one of the best young players in the league, with Karl-Anthony Towns, and a talented guard beside him, D'Angelo Russell. Minnesota cannot whiff on the first pick. Go get James Wiseman. His athleticism will allow him to play three positions on the floor and Minnesota needs both wing and frontcourt help.

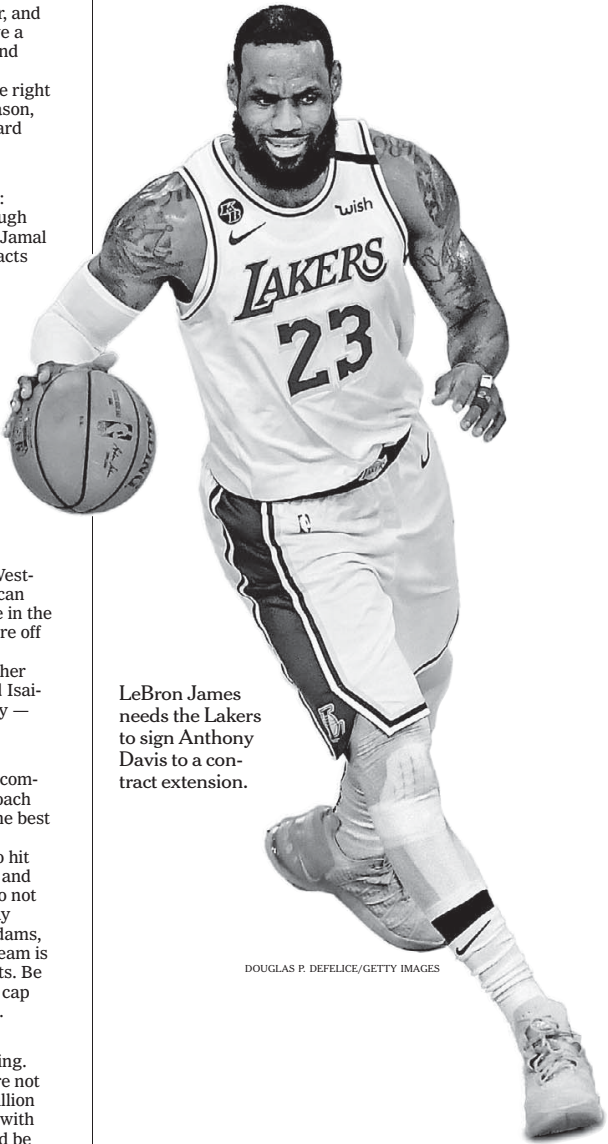
By SOPAN DEB

Finally — finally — the N.B.A. off-season is here. Sure, it's October, months removed from when the off-season would typically begin. And of course, the Los Angeles Lakers are still trying to figure out if they can throw a Zoom championship parade after conquering the Disney World bubble.

(They can. But you just know that J.R. Smith would forget to mute himself during LeBron James's speech.)

This means that 30 N.B.A. teams are about to reload, retool or reset through trades, free agency and the draft, though the league still needs to sort out the financial impact of the pandemic and set the salary cap for next season.

So for all the general managers out there, we have some suggestions for one thing every team needs to do this off-season.



LeBron James needs the Lakers to sign Anthony Davis to a contract extension.

DOUGLAS P. DEFELICE/GETTY IMAGES



Miami has the means to find another piece to complement Jimmy Butler.

MIKE EHLMANN/GETTY IMAGES

Eastern Conference

THE CONTENDERS

Miami Heat
The Heat, coming off an unexpectedly strong season, are in a great position. They have young talent, a star in Jimmy Butler, significant cap space and the 20th pick in the draft. (And if there is a front office that can capitalize on a late-round draft pick, it's Miami's.)

But if the Heat are to make it back to the finals, they'll need more consistent playmaking outside of Butler. They have three significant players entering free agency: guard Goran Dragic, center Meyers Leonard and wing Jae Crowder. The cap space, however, gives the Heat flexibility to pursue another playmaker to team with Butler — Victor Oladipo, perhaps?

Nets
The Nets have no cap space, but they essentially get to see their off-season moves from last summer come to fruition now, with Kevin Durant and Kyrie Irving returning from injuries. Their big acquisition this summer was Steve Nash, their new head coach. Unless the Nets are willing to trade some of their young talent — wing Caris LeVert, guard Spencer Dinwiddie, center Jarrett Allen — there is no third star coming.

That means the Nets need to re-sign Joe Harris, an unrestricted free agent. With two ball-dominant stars, the Nets would benefit from having a sharpshooter on the perimeter.

Boston Celtics
Boston needs scoring help off the bench. Much of its off-season hinges on whether Gordon Hayward opts into his roughly \$34 million contract for next year, so the one way to concretely get playmaking help is through the draft, where Boston has picks Nos. 14, 26 and 30. Given Boston's championship aspirations and the unlikely chance of getting someone who can contribute right away with late-round picks, Danny Ainge, the team's president of basketball should explore trading up.

Philadelphia 76ers
Solve the Al Horford problem. According to the N.B.A.'s tracking numbers, there's some evidence that playing Horford and Joel Embiid together can work. The team's most-used lineup of Horford, Tobias Harris, Embiid, Josh Richardson and Ben Simmons outscored opposing lineups by 8.5 points per 100 possessions. But the league is trending toward smaller lineups, and it's not clear that doubling down on multiple bigs on the floor is going to work over a full season. It didn't last year. (To that end, when Horford and Embiid were on the floor together, the team was 0.5 points worse per 100 possessions over all, and both players played better when the other one was off the floor.)

Toronto Raptors
Fred VanVleet, Serge Ibaka and Marc Gasol are all unrestricted free agents. Kyle Lowry is entering the last year of his contract. At the very least, the Raptors have to re-sign VanVleet, and likely will.

Milwaukee Bucks
Build a Giannis Antetokounmpo statue outside the arena now so he feels too guilty to leave in free agency next summer.

THE MAYBES

Indiana Pacers
Victor Oladipo has not publicly asked for a trade, but there is enough smoke flying around that there is probably fire. This always goes the same way: First, there are rumors of discontent. Then there's a leak of a trade request. And then the team is forced to make a trade with minimal leverage.

The Pacers should trade Oladipo now before the inevitable trade request. At 28, he isn't a top-tier star and has made just two All-Star games. The Pacers had the right idea in acquiring him in the 2017 Paul George trade with Oklahoma City, especially because they also received Domantas Sabonis, 24, in the deal. But Sabonis, who made his first All-Star team last season, may end up being the better player of the two.

Detroit Pistons
The Pistons have lots of cap room, the seventh pick in the draft and a still-in-his prime star in Blake Griffin with lots left to prove. They need to either trade Griffin and commit to rebuilding or use the cap space to land a star. Clippers forward Montrezl Harrell would be an ideal target. Maybe the Washington Wizards' Davis Bertans. (Oh, and the Pistons should re-sign Christian Wood, who had a really nice season.)

Atlanta Hawks
They were one of the worst defensive teams in the league last year, so if the Hawks want to vault, they need some help on that side of the ball.

Atlanta is on track to have the most cap space in the league. They have two of the better young players in the N.B.A. in Trae Young and John Collins; the sixth pick in the draft; and several capable supporting players, including Clint Capela.

With extensions approaching for Young and others, the Hawks have to use the cap space now. But on whom? Signing someone like Dwight Howard would be ideal. Same for Gordon Hayward if he opts out of his deal with Boston, because he can play on both sides of the ball.

THE MAYBE-NOTS

Orlando Magic
The Magic have lots of talent but none in the top-tier. It's hard to jump to championship status without it, and Aaron Gordon isn't cutting it. They won't have much, if any, cap space this summer, but it's time to see what the trade market is for Gordon.

Charlotte Hornets
Michael Jordan needs to nail the third pick in the draft. If he doesn't, everyone should point it out so he takes it personally, returns as a player and wins another championship.

Washington Wizards
The Wizards may have a little bit of cap room to play with this fall, even with nearly \$70 million committed to John Wall and Bradley Beal. But that's only if the Wizards don't pay Davis Bertans, who is due for a big raise as an unrestricted free agent. Can Bertans, even with his shooting ability, be the third-best player on a team that is looking to make noise in a competitive conference? Even with Wall and Beal, it might be best to let him go.

Chicago Bulls
They have the No. 4 pick. Even in what is said to be a weak draft, there is likely long-term cornerstone potential in a player in this pool. The three most talked about prospects are James Wiseman, LaMelo Ball and Anthony Edwards.

The Bulls haven't had a significant A-level building block since Derrick Rose and there is not a single one on the team currently. Arturas Karnisovas should consider trading the pick, and package it with one of the younger prospects on the team (Lauri Markkanen? Wendell Carter?) to see if either Minnesota, Golden State or Charlotte will bite.

Cleveland Cavaliers
Kevin Love and Andre Drummond, who opted in to the last year of his contract after being traded from Detroit, are not going to work playing together. Free Kevin Love!

Knicks
Go three months without feuding with Spike Lee.

PRO BASKETBALL

‘The W is the movement. It’s where this country is going.’
LAYSHIA CLARENDON,
guard for the Liberty

The W.N.B.A. And Activism: Intertwined From the Start

From First Sports Page

not a story of deliberate joint action hatched in a secret meeting.

Rather, players see it as the natural outgrowth of who they are, a drive borne of necessity in a league dominated by Black women, many of them lesbians.

“We are a walking protest at all times as a W.N.B.A. athlete,” said Mistie Bass, who in 2016 took a knee during the national anthem while with the Phoenix Mercury. “If you think about it, we have so many different stigmas. We’re just constantly in the fight. I don’t think we have ever not been in a fight for equality, for justice.”

Over time, the players have grown more emboldened and less fazed by the possibility of punishment by league officials, who have sanctioned them from time to time.

“The W is the movement,” said Layshia Clarendon, a guard for the Liberty. “It’s where this country is going. It’s where progressive and forward-thinking folks are looking to.”

The league is still seeking a broader following, but the increasing activism hasn’t diminished viewership, which is dwarfed by that of the N.B.A. but has shown gains recently. Ratings for the Seattle Storm’s title-clinching Game 3 win over the Las Vegas Aces this month, shown on ESPN, were up 27 percent from the final game a season ago.

Amira Rose Davis, an assistant professor at Penn State University specializing in race, sports and gender, said there was a disconnect at first between how the players saw themselves and how the league was envisioned by the N.B.A., its chief financial backer.

“There was a lot of this conversation that we’ve come to really understand in women’s sports: ‘How can we make it palatable? How can we make it something that we can sell? Shorten the shorts, right?’” Davis said. “That tension is something that was always there, but then you always had players pushing back on it.”

The W.N.B.A.’s players had little leverage to argue; they were constantly told that they should feel lucky to be paid to play basketball at all in the United States.

“We were so happy to be there, but there was this nervousness every morning whether the lights would be on so we could practice,” said Sue Wicks, a former center for the Liberty who was 30 when the W.N.B.A. began.

By the end of the second season, though, the players were fed up with being paid average salaries of \$30,000 and not receiving year-round health benefits or a portion of merchandise profits and revenue. Some players earned as little as \$5,000 in the league’s first season, and their contracts could be terminated by teams at any time. They began organizing the first labor union of professional female athletes.

Although league officials resisted, a collective bargaining agreement was reached. It was modest, but included significant improvements: minimum veteran salaries, doubled to \$30,000; year-round health care; retirement plans; paid maternity leave; and revenue sharing.

“They were basically starting with nothing,” said Pamela Wheeler, the first players’ union director. “So what the players said was: ‘Listen, we know that we’re not going to get rich doing this. But one day the W.N.B.A. is going to be wildly successful.’ Their goal and my mission was to establish a foundation upon which, one day, the players would be able to benefit.”

Another contentious round at the bargaining table occurred in 2003 over salaries, with the season imperiled at one point. The union sought a substantial increase in pay, and for the first time drew attention to the players’ fight as a proxy for the battle over equal pay that women face across industries. They received only marginal increases, but they had shown a willingness to fight for more.

“The women were very brave to step out as they did,” said Martha Burk, an activist who was, at the time, chair of the National Council of Women’s Organizations. “The W.N.B.A.,” she added, “was able to raise the profile of the dispute enough to get public support behind them.”

Public support didn’t always come from the people the league almost exclusively marketed to: families with parents who are straight and cisgender, whose sense of gender identity matches their sex assigned at birth. L.G.B.T.Q. fans embraced the W.N.B.A. from its earliest seasons, though the league did not create a pride campaign until 2014.

Many players led openly gay lives off the court, but the league adopted a “don’t ask, don’t tell” attitude in its early years, even arriving late to sports staples like kiss cams that might have forced acknowledgment of the significant presence of same-sex couples at games.

“Though it wasn’t yet acknowledged and celebrated the way it would be later, there was sort of a feeling of community,” said Re-



JULIO AGUILAR/GETTY IMAGES

Jewell Loyd, above left, and Alysha Clark of the Seattle Storm making their point about Breonna Taylor before a playoff game in September. Layshia Clarendon of the Liberty, right, has been among players leading social justice action.



PHILAN M. EBENHACK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

becca Lobo, who played for the Liberty. “It was really cool knowing a segment of the population who doesn’t feel accepted elsewhere feels accepted here in Madison Square Garden, surrounded by 16,000 fans.”

Wicks, the former Liberty center, became the first openly gay active player in 2002 after a Time Out New York reporter asked about her sexuality and she said she was a lesbian.

“The majority of players that came up to me and said, ‘Wow, it’s really cool you did that,’ were straight,” she said. “The gay players were probably afraid I was going to out them next. There was no upside to it. There was no feedback saying, ‘This is a good idea.’”

Even in 2012, when Augustus — a four-time champion with the Minnesota Lynx — spoke publicly about her sexuality for the first time, it was still deemed newsworthy. Her decision was prompted in part by the surge in campaigns against same-sex marriage, including the Minnesota ballot measure that year seeking to define marriage as between a man and a woman. She spoke out early and frequently against the proposed amendment, which voters ultimately rejected.

“I’d been entertaining people, but not really having an impact on a community that I’ve been involved in my entire life,” Augustus said. “People have power and don’t know it, or if they do know it, they abuse it. I was one of the people that didn’t know how much power I had, and that experience showed me that I definitely want to make sure I use that power to create some type of change.”

Today, lesbian players and their families are embraced by the league and its fans, and the W.N.B.A. amplifies progressive conversations around gender and sexuality. After the Storm won the championship this month, ESPN showed Sue Bird, Seattle’s star point guard, hugging and kissing her girlfriend, the U.S. women’s soccer star Megan Rapinoe.

Clarendon, who identifies as nonbinary, compelled an inclusive shift this summer when the ESPN play-by-play announcer Ryan Ruocco used the correct pronouns when describing Clarendon’s baskets and rebounds. For Clarendon, it’s a natural evolution of how basketball has always allowed them to challenge gender norms.

“As someone who’s realizing that I’ve always been nonbinary, it’s been hard to find the words and the language and the space to fully be that,” Clarendon said. “I realized how much basketball saved me, and gave me that without me necessarily realizing it. It allowed me to be so queer.”

The vibe of challenging norms blossomed in other ways.

Before Colin Kaepernick first took a knee during the national anthem in 2016, members of the Lynx, then the reigning champions, sought to peacefully advocate social change.

Recent police killings weighed heavily on Augustus and her teammates.

Alton Sterling was killed by the police outside a Baton Rouge, La., convenience store Augustus frequented as a child. A police officer in suburban St. Paul, Minn., killed Philando Castile during a traffic stop. While visiting her in Minnesota, Augustus’s father had been pulled over by the police. He could have been killed like Castile, she thought.

The team and coaching staff convened, deliberating how best to uniformly convey their feelings. They settled on wearing

black warm-up shirts that read, “Change starts with us — Justice & Accountability” on the front. The back featured the Dallas police shield, in recognition of several police officers who had recently been killed; the names of Sterling and Castile; and the phrase “Black Lives Matter.”

Four off-duty Minneapolis police officers working security at the arena walked off the job.

The moment also created a swell of unity throughout the league. Some players like Bass, following the lead of her Mercury teammate Kelsey Bone, began to kneel during the national anthem. The Mercury, Fever and Liberty wore similar shirts. The league initially fined the teams and players, then rescinded the penalties less than a week later after an outcry from players and fans.

“It could have just been the Minnesota Lynx doing this, and then we would have looked like the one bad apple in the league,” Augustus said. “But because of the rest of the teams’ following suit, it really made a bigger impact and brought us together a little bit stronger than we were before.”

With that current of activism, it wasn’t surprising that the league’s players would have a forceful reaction to the killings of George Floyd in May and Taylor in March.

“I knew we were not going to have a season this year if we don’t launch something special,” Commissioner Cathy Engelbert said.

Among several efforts, the W.N.B.A. has created a social justice council and is working with the Say Her Name Campaign, which focuses on police violence against Black women and girls.

“You find your way in it, in a way in which it speaks to your own authenticity as an individual,” said Nneka Ogwumike, the president of the W.N.B.A. players’ union. “But then also you find a lot of strength and we’re able to speak out collectively, as we demonstrated in the past few years and most notably this season.”

The recent surge in visible activism has yielded mixed feelings for Bass four years after she first knelt.

“Not much has changed since then in terms of social justice and making things better, which is why we were kneeling,” Bass said. “But to see now, not just in the W.N.B.A., just over all, the full embracing of it has been difficult to watch, because you’re like, ‘Where were you four years ago?’”

N.B.A. teams began kneeling regularly at games this summer. Notable W.N.B.A. players like Cloud and Renee Montgomery opted out of the season to fully pursue social justice causes. Montgomery, a member of the Lynx team who wore the T-shirt four years ago, was moved to act after protesters arrived in her neighborhood in the Buckhead area of Atlanta in June to protest the police killing of Rayshard Brooks.

Then she watched as the sports world mostly came to a standstill after the police shooting of Jacob Blake, a Black man, in August.

“I’m sure everyone thought if sports stops, once they got back going, it was going to be due to the pandemic,” she said. “No one thought that sports would stop because of race.”

The N.B.A.’s Milwaukee Bucks walked out of a playoff game, and W.N.B.A. teams, and others in different sports league, joined them.

“We become a better league and more valuable because of the space we use to fight social justice,” said Dawn Staley, the women’s basketball coach at the University of South Carolina, who was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame after her W.N.B.A. career. “Everybody knows they’re leaders when it comes to that. If anything, it gives other professional leagues a space to say: ‘It’s OK to speak out. It’s OK to be unliked.’ Because we’ve been unliked for 23 years by mainstream America, you know what I’m saying? You can survive not being liked for saying something that’s right.”

Davis, the Penn State professor, said the social justice work of the W.N.B.A. is part of a historical trend of Black women leading the way.

“As often happens with Black women, they are at once hyper-visible and invisible,” Davis said. “Just because people won’t necessarily cite them or credit them or look over and acknowledge them doesn’t mean they’re not watching them and building off their work.”



DARRON CUMMINGS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kelsey Bone, right, and Mistie Bass of the Phoenix Mercury kneeling during the national anthem before a first-round playoff game in September 2016. “We are a walking protest at all times as a W.N.B.A. athlete,” Bass said.

N.F.L. Week 6



STEVE ROBERTS/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

Derrick Henry piled up 264 yards from scrimmage, including a 94-yard touchdown run, in Tennessee’s 42-36 win over Houston. Ryan Tannehill threw for 364 yards and four scores for the 5-0 Titans.

Death, Taxes, and the Steelers Over the Browns

Pittsburgh Surges to 5-0 • Henry and Tannehill Flatten Texans • Rivers Flashes His Old Form

By BENJAMIN HOFFMAN

It was not the day many people expected. The Broncos, the Falcons and the Bears all pulled off upsets on the road. The Buccaneers made easy work of the Packers, the Eagles gave the Ravens a scare, and the Browns went from looking like an offensive juggernaut in Weeks 2 through 5 to being absolutely humiliated by the Steelers.

But when you consider that several N.F.L. teams dealt with closed practice facilities last week because of positive coronavirus tests, the fact that the games were even played was nearly as surprising as the results on the field.

Here’s what we learned:

It doesn’t matter if Derrick Henry is the chicken or the egg.

Has quarterback Ryan Tannehill’s efficiency prevented teams from stacking the box, allowing Henry to reach his true potential? Or has playing with Henry made life easy for Tannehill? Whatever it is, it’s working.

The numbers in Sunday’s overtime win over Houston were eye-popping even by Tennessee’s high standards. Tannehill passed for 364 yards and four touchdowns, which was almost an afterthought since Henry’s 264 total yards from scrimmage included a 94-yard touchdown run, a 53-yard reception in overtime and a 5-yard game-winning touchdown in which he got the ball on a direct snap with Tannehill split out as a decoy receiver.

Tennessee had 601 yards of offense — just the 38th 600-yard game since 1940, according to Pro Football Reference — and is now 5-0 this season and 12-3 since Tannehill became the team’s starting quarterback last season.



MICHAEL CONROY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Philip Rivers, 38, led the Colts back from a 21-0 deficit against the Bengals, finishing with 371 passing yards and three touchdowns in a 31-27 victory.

Pittsburgh-Cleveland is a rivalry in hate only.

The teams have often had a chippy past, but that has not made for competitive football games. Playing the Browns seems to bring the best out of the Steelers, who demolished their rivals, 38-7, to improve to 5-0. Just about everything was clicking for the Steelers, who got a pick-6 from safety Minkah Fitzpatrick and big offensive games from running back James Conner and the rookie receiver Chase Claypool. The Steelers improved their record against the Browns to 36-7-1 since that team’s resurrection in Cleveland in 1999.

How bad was it for the Browns? They came in with their best five-game

start since 1994, and by halftime their fans had Case Keenum, the team’s backup quarterback, trending on Twitter. Cleveland did switch to Keenum in the second half, but it didn’t matter.

Joe Burrow is the N.F.L.’s future, but Philip Rivers can still sling it.

Burrow was the first overall pick in this year’s draft, and he’s had an impressive start to his career — regardless of his record. On Sunday, he got his team off to a 21-0 lead against the Indianapolis Colts. But there’s a reason the Colts wanted Rivers, the 17-year veteran, who outscored Cincinnati by 31-6 the rest of the way and finished with 371 yards passing and three touchdowns.

Lamar Jackson’s legs still work.

Last week Jackson rushed for just 3 yards, bringing his season average down to 47.6 yards rushing per game after he’d averaged 80.4 a game during his M.V.P. campaign in 2019. It appears he can still get loose when he wants, as he had another quiet passing day but ran the ball nine times for 108 yards and a touchdown.

Rob Gronkowski remembers how to spike the ball.

It had been 679 days since his last touchdown, but the tight end who went from the Super Bowl with New England, to happily retired, to joining Tom Brady in Tampa (with a few W.W.E. appearances mixed in there just for fun) found the end zone in a blowout of the Green Bay Packers, hauling in a 12-yard diving score before getting up and doing one of his signature over-the-top spikes. He finished the day with five catches for 78 yards, both of which are his best marks for the Buccaneers, who improved to 4-2.

The state of New Jersey will not be winless in 2020.

It was not an impressive win, and there’s little reason to expect it to happen again, but the Giants eked out a 20-19 victory at MetLife Stadium over the Washington Football Team.

The Jets, meanwhile, were crushed by Miami. They fell to 0-6 for the second time in franchise history, they lack a game on their schedule that looks winnable, and with Bill O’Brien (Houston) and Dan Quinn (Atlanta) already fired, Coach Adam Gase seemingly has the least job security in the N.F.L.

The Bears are probably a playoff team.

It has not always been pretty. In fact, it has been mostly not pretty. But Chicago held off a Carolina comeback on Sunday to improve to 3-0 on the road and 5-1 over all. In the last 10 seasons, only five teams have started 5-1 and failed to make the playoffs — though that list includes the 2012 Bears.

One* Sentence About Sunday’s Games

*Except when it takes more.

BUCCANEERS 38, PACKERS 10 Just about everything went Tampa Bay’s way, but the starkest thing about this game was probably the pass protection, as Aaron Rodgers, who had been sacked just three times over his team’s first four games, was put down four times by the Buccaneers’ fearsome pass rush. Rodgers finished the day with a passer rating of 35.4, the third-worst mark of his career.

TITANS 42, TEXANS 36 (OT) It’s hard to quibble with a game in which a team’s offense managed 601 total yards, but Tennessee really should be concerned about its defense, which allowed 412 yards to a team that fired its coach and general manager two weeks ago.

STEELERS 38, BROWNS 7 Cleveland had averaged 37.5 points over its previous four games but could do absolutely nothing against Pittsburgh, with quarterback Baker Mayfield looking beaten up while throwing for 119 yards, one touchdown and two interceptions.

COLTS 31, BENGALS 27 It was an emotional week for Indianapolis, as the team had to briefly close its facility because of a few false positive tests for the coronavirus, fell behind by 21-0 to Cincinnati and then raced back to win, tying the franchise’s record for largest comeback in a regular-season game.

RAVENS 30, EAGLES 28 Baltimore overwhelmed Philadelphia with its running game during a 17-0 start, but in a rare instance of the Ravens taking their collective foot off the gas, they very nearly let the Eagles pull off an upset, only to be bailed out when Carson Wentz couldn’t run the ball in for a 2-point conversion.

BEARS 23, PANTHERS 16 It is hard to get excited about Chicago’s offense, regardless of the team’s record, but the Bears’ defense had a throwback day.

FALCONS 40, VIKINGS 23 The firing of Coach Dan Quinn and the return of Julio Jones were certainly factors in Atlanta’s first win of the season, but having Minnesota’s Kirk Cousins melt down to the tune of three interceptions in the first half helped stake Atlanta to such a wide lead that the team was in cruise control for most of the day.

BRONCOS 18, PATRIOTS 12 It seemed New England would have an easy win at home once it was announced that Cam Newton was active, but Denver got six field goals from Brandon McManus and barely held off a comeback.

DOLPHINS 24, JETS 0 It was the full Ryan Fitzpatrick experience, as the veteran quarterback threw for three touchdowns, was intercepted twice, and did a Patrick Mahomes impersonation by completing a short left-handed pass in the easy victory. Tua Tagovailoa made his N.F.L. debut, but it was to mop up a laughter rather than to replace his team’s volatile starter — and Fitzpatrick was leading the cheers for the rookie who will eventually replace him.

LIONS 34, JAGUARS 16 Matthew Stafford threw a touchdown pass — he now has one against all 31 teams besides Detroit — D’Andre Swift ran for 116 yards, and the Lions won so convincingly that Jacksonville Coach Doug Marrone acknowledged after the game that his job could be in jeopardy.

GIANTS 20, FOOTBALLERS 19 Tae Crowder’s fumble recovery for a touchdown put Big Blue up by 7 with less than four minutes to play, but this game between also-rans was decided when Coach Ron Rivera, desperate to stay in the N.F.C. East playoff race, had his Footballers gamble with a 2-point conversion attempt in the final minute, only for Kyle Allen to throw an incomplete pass.



DON WRIGHT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The rookie Chase Claypool scoring for Pittsburgh, which is 36-7-1 against Cleveland since the Browns’ 1999 revival.

How Is a Tight Spiral Even Possible? Science Eventually Explains It

By KENNETH CHANG

On Sunday, when Lamar Jackson of the Baltimore Ravens or another strong-armed N.F.L. quarterback throws a deep pass, take a moment to admire the forces of physics he has unleashed.

When the ball leaves his hand, it points upward, in the direction of the throw. As it arcs through the air, spinning along the long axis without any visible wobble, the nose of the football dips, following the trajectory of the throw and pointing downward when it lands in the hands of the receiver.

To most fans, this looks perfectly natural, the ball slicing efficiently through the air with less drag. To a physicist like Timothy J. Gay, it was befuddling.

That is because what physicists see with their eyes seems to conflict with a fundamental property of motion known as the conservation of angular momentum. It states that the axis of a spinning object, such as the tight spiral of a well-thrown football, will not change its orientation unless some force acts to twist it. It was not clear what force could be pushing the football's nose down.

Worse, the most simplistic analysis would suggest that the onrush of air from below would nudge the nose of the football up, not down, and flip it backward. If that were true, a long, beautiful pass would be an impossibility.

"That's the paradox," said Dr. Gay, a professor of physics at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, home of the Cornhuskers.

"I worked on it for 20 years, and I didn't make much progress till I brought in two smart people to

simple mathematics and do what physicists do," Dr. Price said. "Which is to try and throw away all of the irrelevant details and get the heart of something. Throw away the bath water, looking very carefully to make sure there are no babies in it."

The first thought experiment was to eliminate the atmosphere from the equations. But then the only force acting on the football would be gravity, and that would act equally on all parts of the ball and not exert a twisting torque to push the nose down. "It is always going to point in the same direction, because it's acting as a gyroscope," Dr. Price said. "The tip of the nose will not fall over and go down."

Clearly, air resistance, along with gravity, was playing a key role — but not the one that the simplistic analysis would suggest. "It's kind of cool, because you have these two effects, both of which would seem to have nothing to do with what we actually see," Dr. Price said.

The three scientists were not the first to examine this phenomenon, and others showed through wind tunnel experiments and computer simulations that thrown footballs do not violate the laws of physics.

But they say their results, published this summer in the American Journal of Physics, are the first to provide a simple understanding of what is going on.

The key is that even a star N.F.L. quarterback cannot throw a perfectly wobble-free pass. Also, the interactions between a spinning object and forces such as gravity and air resistance are often counterintuitive.

This gets back to the analogy of a spinning football as a gyroscope. In a demonstration often used by physics professors, a gyroscope made of a bicycle wheel on an axle spins at hundreds of revolutions per minute while the axle is held horizontally. One end is placed in the loop of a suspended string. When the other end of the gyroscope is released, it remains almost horizontal, seemingly defying gravity. The unsupported end starts moving in a circle — what physicists call precession.

The football also undergoes precession and this motion creates an aerodynamic twisting that, on average, pushes the nose of the football down, the physicists showed.

Dr. Gay said the findings could potentially even offer some tips to quarterbacks — for instance, that if a right-handed quarterback threw the pass with the ball slightly askew to the left initially, that might lower the total air resistance and allow it to travel a bit farther. "But I'm thinking those would be pretty marginal improvements," he said.

Brian Griese, a former quarterback for the Denver Broncos and other N.F.L. teams and now an analyst on ESPN, said that top-tier quarterbacks might be interested in learning more.

"I think you're always looking for information, always looking for an edge," he said. "I read the paper, believe it or not, and it was very interesting. I actually have a daughter who's 14 right now and studying trigonometry and so I shared it with her and she was interested in it."

Of course, professional athletes already intuitively know much of this. Dr. Price said he was watching a replay of a pass by Patrick Mahomes of the Kansas City Chiefs where the camera was facing in the direction of the oncoming pass.

"I could count the number of wobbles, and they were in good agreement with the numbers in our paper," Dr. Price said. "I joked to my colleagues, 'He must have read our paper.'"



How does a Lamar Jackson pass go nose down right into a receiver's hands? Think of a gyroscope, three physicists say.

N.F.L. Week 6



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CJ GUNTHER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Jonathan Jones (31) broke up a pass intended for Jerry Jeudy of the Broncos. At other times, the Patriots' lack of practices showed.

Patriots Take an Almost-Two-Decade Step Back

By BILL PENNINGTON

Nineteen years ago, in what was Bill Belichick's second season in New England and Tom Brady's first year as an N.F.L. starter, the Patriots had a 2-3 record at the second week of October.

Broncos 18, Patriots 12

It was the last time, until Sunday, that the Patriots had a losing record after five games in a season. In the 19 seasons since then, the team's record in its first five games is 69-26. But in this most atypical N.F.L. season, even the reliably consistent Patriots are now in unfamiliar territory.

In a game that was twice postponed because of coronavirus cases among players, the visiting Denver Broncos stunned the sloppy, unimaginative — and probably underprepared — Patriots on Sunday with six field goals in an 18-12 upset. The Patriots (2-3), who had not played for 13 days, had three turnovers. The team's offensive line, disrupted by injury and positive virus tests, yielded four sacks.

Belichick had tried every unconventional tactic to maintain some unity during the Patriots' long layoff — one full team meeting was held outside in the bleachers — but the Patriots were able to conduct only one practice and a perfunctory walk-through in the run-up to Sunday's game. Perhaps not surprisingly, they took the field flat-footed as Broncos quarterback Drew Lock completed a 41-yard pass on the game's second play.

That jolt to the Patriots' system was quickly followed by a 45-yard field goal by Brandon McManus as the Broncos (2-3) took a lead they never relinquished. Because Lock threw two careless interceptions on consecutive throws late in the fourth quarter, the Patriots were able to make a late run that kept the score relatively close, but the New England offense remained hopelessly out of sync even during that rally.

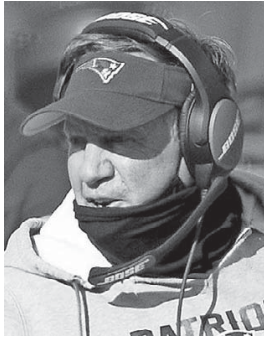
The most effective play the Patriots had was the unplanned scrambling of quarterback Cam Newton on pass plays. Newton, playing his first game since he tested positive for the virus, had 76 rushing yards on 10 carries and scored a touchdown. He completed 17 of 25 passes for 157 yards.

It was not nearly enough as no Patriots running back had more than 19 rushing yards and no Patriots receiver accumulated more than 65 yards. With the Denver defensive line dominating the reshuffled New England offensive line, Newton also had two passes deflected at the line of scrimmage that became costly interceptions.

The Patriots essentially were outplayed in every substantial way.

Or as Belichick said afterward, "We didn't do anything well enough today to win."

Since the Patriots' practice and administrative complex was closed to players and coaches multiple times in the last two weeks, Belichick conceded that the reduced game preparation affected Sunday's outcome.



For the first time in 19 years, Bill Belichick's team has a losing record after five games.

"It was a big challenge — playing without guys, getting guys hurt, moving around, had some guys that haven't played together much, hadn't practiced together much," he said. "So we need to get on the field. We need to practice. We need to develop some continuity as a team."

Broncos Coach Vic Fangio praised his team, which had not played for 17 days, for its ability to overcome the frequent distractions this month.

"You're mad, you're disappointed, you're frustrated, and you wonder why," Fangio said, describing the mood of his players and himself. "Five minutes later you take a deep breath and you move on. I've tried to get the guys to think that way, and I think they

have."

Trailing by 18-3 with about 10 minutes remaining in the final quarter, Newton bulled into the end zone on a 1-yard quarterback sneak. Belichick chose to go for a 2-point conversion and called for a pass with only two receivers in the formation. When both intended targets were covered, Newton dashed for the end zone but was tripped up short of the goal line.

On the next Denver possession, a miscommunication between Lock and wide receiver Tim Patrick led to an interception by cornerback J. C. Jackson. Though they took over at the Broncos' 25, the Patriots lost 7 yards on three plays and settled for a 38-yard Nick Folk field goal to cut Denver's lead to 18-12.

The Broncos' primary goal on the ensuing possession should have been running out the clock, but on the first play, Lock heaved a deep pass into double coverage. It was intercepted by Jonathan Jones. New England advanced to the Denver 24 in the waning moments of the game, but Newton's last four pass attempts resulted in two incompletions, a 6-yard reception and a sack as the Broncos took over on downs.

Afterward, Belichick closed his news conference with a sentence that might be uttered only in this year's Covid-19 chapter of N.F.L. history.

"Hopefully," he said, "we'll be able to practice this week."

He added, "We certainly need it."

Giants, Denying a 2-Point Try, Hang On for Win No. 1

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J. (AP) — The Giants and their first-year coach Joe Judge finally won, and they have the rookie linebacker Tae Crowder and a gamble

Giants 20, Washington 19

by Washington Coach Ron Rivera to thank.

Crowder, the last player taken in the 2020 N.F.L. draft — a distinction known as Mr. Irrelevant — scooped up a fumble and ran 43 yards for a touchdown with three minutes 29 seconds remaining. That gave the Giants a 20-19 victory over the Washington Football Team on Sunday at MetLife Stadium in a battle of the two of the N.F.L.'s worst teams.

The game was not decided until Rivera rolled the dice after a 22-yard touchdown pass from Kyle Allen to Cam Sims with 36 seconds left in the fourth quarter to cap a 10-play, 75-yard drive.

Instead of playing for overtime by having his kicker try for the extra point, Rivera had Washington (1-5) go for the win with a 2-point conversion in an attempt to get back in the race for the division lead in the mediocre N.F.C. East. Allen found no one open, scrambled to his left and threw an incomplete pass under pressure.

"I told them in the locker room I play to win," Rivera said to reporters. "I told you guys that's part of my philosophy. The only way to learn to win is to play to win. That's what I want those guys to understand."



JOHN MINCHILLO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Darius Slayton beating Fabian Moreau of Washington and catching a 23-yard touchdown pass for the Giants from Daniel Jones.

The stop gave Judge, 38, his first win as an N.F.L. head coach and allowed the Giants (1-5) to avoid their second 0-6 start since 2013.

"The emotional sideline was just joy for players," Judge said. "To see them smile and see them rewarded for hard work, that's really why you play."

Washington rallied from a 10-point deficit to tie the game midway through the fourth quarter. Then a rare Giants quarterback pressure turned the game around.

On a third-and-9 from the Giants' 45, linebacker Kyler Fackrell

strip-sacked Allen for an 8-yard loss. Crowder chased down the bouncing ball, gained possession and ran untouched to the end zone — to the applause of teammates in a spectator-less stadium.

Giants quarterback Daniel Jones, who wasted a long third-quarter drive with an interception, threw a 23-yard touchdown pass to Darius Slayton, and Graham Gano kicked two field goals.

"We have battled these first five weeks and haven't gotten the results we all hoped for," Jones said. "To get it was thrilling, and Coach's first win, it was a lot of fun

to do that."

Allen threw a 5-yard touchdown pass to Logan Thomas, and Dustin Hopkins, who missed from 47 yards on the opening drive, hit two shorter field goals.

Jones, who rushed for a team-high 74 yards, was 12 of 19 for 112 yards passing and he threw an interception to Kendall Fuller in the back of the end zone that ended a nine-minute-plus drive.

Allen was 31 of 42 for 280 yards and an interception by James Bradberry, which set up the Slayton score.

Washington used two time-consuming 70-yard drives to tie the game at 13-13 with 8:56 left in the fourth quarter.

With Washington trailing by 13-3 late in the second quarter, Rivera made a gutsy call on fourth-and-4 from the Giants' 40. Allen hit Dontrelle Inman for 15 yards after scrambling away from pressure. He capped the 13-play drive with a 5-yard rainbow toss to Thomas.

Giants wide receiver C. J. Board was carted off the field early in the third quarter after taking a big hit from Washington safety Deshaun Everett while trying to catch a low pass. He was found to have a concussion and a neck injury and was taken to a hospital for evaluation. Cornerback Darney Holmes (neck) left in the first half; linebacker Blake Martinez and defensive tackle Dexter Lawrence were evaluated for concussions and returned.

BASEBALL



NEW YORK YANKEES

A Field Where Women Help Women Succeed, Through a Text Chain

From First Sports Page
staffers and more.
“Being able to mentor other women that are coming into the game is huge,” Wolf said. “I didn’t have that. I had mentors, but not really female mentors.”

That is little surprise considering baseball has long been an industry controlled by men. But women are increasingly becoming a presence in the sport.

Forty percent of the professional employees at Major League Baseball’s central office are women (the highest percentage since 2008), and 21 women had on-field coaching or player development roles for organizations entering 2020 (up from just three in 2017), according to the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport at the University of Central Florida.

Still, that institute’s latest report card gave M.L.B. and its 30 teams a C grade for gender hiring. A look at the gender breakdown at the club vice president-level jobs shows why: Of roughly 500 vice president jobs among the 30 clubs, 95 were held by women, according to the report. And a woman has yet to break through as an M.L.B. player, manager or general manager.

‘I Had No Clue’

It was that lack of midlevel opportunities, in part, that led Wolf to start the WhatsApp group.
In 2018, she left her job as the coordinator for minor league and international operations for the Mets to look for work elsewhere in the industry. But she found that baseball’s efforts for women were geared more toward entry-level and executive positions. At the annual industrywide winter meetings in December, she said, she could not even attend an M.L.B.-run event for women because she wasn’t employed by a team at the time.
She realized women needed

help in this tricky part of their careers — the steppingstones of middle management — not just at the highest or lowest positions.
“Major League Baseball has done a lot to get women and minorities into the game, but there isn’t as much support for those who are already in the game,” she said. “And I had a lot of female friends or colleagues or peers that may have had one bad experience with a club or something and then decided not to work in baseball anymore.”

So after Wolf was hired in February 2019 by the Indians, she started the WhatsApp group for women to talk, vent and assist one another outside the few formal programs that existed.
The group is limited to women who hold full-time jobs in baseball operations. But if someone is furloughed or laid off, a more common occurrence during the pandemic, she said, they are not kicked out of the group.

In fact, Wolf said, every woman added is made an administrator in the WhatsApp group so that she can, in turn, invite more.
“This has all been spread grassroots and word of mouth,” she said. “So if somebody is not in it, it’s not anything personal. Maybe I don’t have their number.”

The text group includes, among others: two other minor league coaches hired before this season, Rachel Balkovec of the Yankees and Rachel Folden of the Chicago Cubs; Eve Rosenbaum, the Baltimore Orioles’ director of baseball development; Melissa Lambert, the Kansas City Royals’ assistant director of behavioral science; and Karla Espinoza, a scout for the Tampa Bay Rays in Mexico.
Nuñez was invited into the group over the winter by her colleague Andrea La Pointe, a minor league operations assistant for the Angels, and found it eye-opening because she didn’t have such a network before.
“I had no clue there were so

‘The barrier has opened up for women in the U.S. Now we’ve got to keep fighting.’

ANDREA NUÑEZ, a minor league strength and conditioning coach with the Angels



“Being able to mentor other women that are coming into the game is huge,” said Jen Wolf, above center, a life skills coordinator in Cleveland’s farm system. Rachel Balkovec, top left, a minor league coach for the Yankees, is part of the text group that Wolf started.

many women,” she said. “Obviously there’s not enough, but I didn’t know there were so many in terms of the numbers we have now. The only other female-filled position that I had seen was maybe an athletic trainer.”

Nuñez took part in the group’s gathering in Arizona during spring training and in its Zoom calls during the pandemic shutdown. When she mentioned on a video call that she was interested in pursuing a master’s degree in sports psychology, Wolf connected her to mental skills coaches for advice.

Through the chats, Nuñez said, she also met Carla Bustamante, a longtime executive for the Naranjeros de Hermosillo, a professional team in Mexico, and found it inspirational to learn about other Latinas in professional baseball.

“It’s so amazing to be able to see someone who maybe speaks like you, who might have a little accent like you and who you see yourself in,” said Nuñez, a Mexican-American who was born in El Paso and spent some of her childhood across the border.

The group’s push for diversity is not limited to gender. Nuñez, who is believed to be the first Latina strength and conditioning coach in professional baseball, and Wolf, who speaks Spanish and once worked for M.L.B. in the Dominican Republic, realize that a lot of the women working in baseball

are white. Nearly 30 percent of major league players are Latino, with an even greater share in the minors.

“The barrier has opened up for women in the U.S.,” Nuñez said. “Now we’ve got to keep fighting because so many other barriers have to be brought down. I’ve met plenty of Latino coaches on the minor league side, but I haven’t met many Black coaches. I definitely haven’t seen many women of color, so for me, we’re just getting started.”

Stubborn Hurdles Remain

A watershed moment for the text group, and women in the sport, came a year ago. During a celebration following the Houston Astros clinching a trip to the World Series, Brandon Taubman, the team’s assistant general manager, yelled at a group of female reporters in the clubhouse, “Thank God we got Osuna,” along with an expletive.

Taubman was referring to Roberto Osuna, a relief pitcher acquired by the Astros in 2018 while he was serving a 75-game suspension because of accusations of domestic violence. Three days after a Sports Illustrated article brought the Taubman outburst to light, the Astros fired Taubman. The group text lit up.

“We kind of used it to talk more about what women face in general, instead of that specific inci-

dent, so that way nobody who may or may not have been involved felt like they had to talk on that specifically,” said Wolf, who knew some women in the group might have known or worked with Taubman.

Over all, Wolf — echoing the sentiments of Nakken and Nuñez — said her experience working in baseball had been overwhelmingly positive.

“If it wasn’t, I wouldn’t still be here,” she added. “That said, it’s not perfect. It can definitely improve.”

At a basic level, Wolf said, more teams need to be aware of their team work gear (“Making sure you have clothes that fit women and you’re not just giving them men’s stuff,” she said) and facilities, like appropriate bathrooms and locker rooms for women. Wolf had to use an empty umpires’ locker room at the Mets’ minor league facility in Port St. Lucie, Fla., because there wasn’t a dedicated space for women.

The pipeline into the sport, she said, also has room for improvement. To first crack into baseball, Wolf needed a bit of luck: The former Red Sox general manager Lou Gorman was a frequent customer of the bagel shop near Boston where she worked in high school and helped her land her first internship. Recruiting is also key to ensuring front offices, filled with white men from elite universities, aren’t pulling simply from those networks, Wolf added.

She noted that analytics had helped more people without professional playing experience, including women, to find work in baseball. As a result, men have become more used to working with women. But hurdles remain, such as inappropriate overtures at work or patronizing comments or workplace cultures where women feel afraid to speak their minds.

“I have actually, in general, had much better interactions with players, minor league coaches and scouts than I’ve had with my own peers in the front office,” Wolf said.

Earlier in her career, Wolf was star struck when she met Kim Ng, who has worked as an assistant general manager with the Los Angeles Dodgers and Yankees, and is currently M.L.B.’s senior vice president for baseball operations. She later met Raquel Ferreira and Jean Afterman, the assistant general managers of the Boston Red Sox and Yankees.

Finding more role models for women in baseball was part of why Wolf started the text chain. While she said she looks forward to the day that women in baseball are known for their merits, not their gender, Wolf wants girls and young women to hear Nakken’s story and see her in uniform on the field.

“Those women are incredible, but I wish there were more,” Wolf said. “It’s been those same women for a long time. We need more of them.”

Rays Make Series, All According to (a Questioned) Plan

The Tampa Bay Rays told Charlie Morton it would happen. When they chased him as a free agent before last season, their front office did not present to him this precise scenario — an unprecedented path to the World Series, with him leading the way — but they shared their methodology. Part of Morton recoiled at the message.

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BASEBALL

“Hey, we don’t need you to go seven, eight innings — we’re built so that you give us five or six good ones and we’ll take care of the rest,” Morton, 36, said earlier this month, recalling the Rays’ pitch to him. “I don’t know how I feel about that; coming up, you want to go seven, eight. You want that complete game.”
Morton’s role models as a young major leaguer were other tall right-handers who craved big moments and burned to work deep into games: Roy Halladay, Chris Carpenter, Adam Wainwright and A. J. Burnett. His generation of pitchers, Morton said, is probably the last to be raised with that mentality.
“And you just see this evolution in the game — teams would rather have you go out and strike a bunch of guys out over five or six innings,” he added. “I don’t know, it’s kind of sad to see — but the guys that can consistently go out and give you six, seven, eight innings, two to four runs, and throw 200 innings a year, I think that’s gone the way of the dodo bird.”
Nowhere was the evolution of the baseball kingdom more obvious than in Game 7 of the American League Championship Series on Saturday night in San Diego. The Rays stuck to their principles at the pivotal moment, and

the reward was a 4-2 victory against the Houston Astros that sent them to their second World Series. In their first, in 2008, they lost to the Philadelphia Phillies.

The Rays won the first three games of this A.L.C.S. and then lost three in a row. Only once before had a team done that in a best-of-seven series, and that team — the 2004 Yankees — was beaten soundly in Game 7 by the Boston Red Sox. The Rays, then, had no precedent for recovering from such a tumble.

“I don’t know if I went to bed,” Manager Kevin Cash said when asked about his torment after losing Game 6 on Friday. “It was tough, there’s no doubt. A lot of anxiety. Believe me, we’ve all watched ‘Four Days in October.’ I didn’t want to see it again.”

Cash was referring to a documentary about Boston’s famous comeback; several Astros said they had watched it for inspiration as they attempted to match the feat. But Houston fell one win short, and Cash’s discipline with Morton was a big reason.

Morton, who won Game 7s in the A.L.C.S. and the World Series for Houston in 2017, retired 16 of his first 17 hitters on Saturday and took a 3-0 lead into the sixth inning behind home runs by Randy Arozarena and Mike Zunino. Morton was extremely efficient; after a walk and a two-out infield single in the sixth, he had thrown just 66 pitches, about two-thirds of a traditional starter’s workload.

But Cash let him go no further, pulling Morton for Nick Anderson, whose last pitch had been crushed for a game-ending homer by Carlos Correa on Thursday. The next Astros hitter, Michael Brantley, represented the tying run, and after hitting a single and a flyout off Morton



EZRA SHAW/GETTY IMAGES

The Tampa Bay Rays on Saturday night after eliminating Houston in Game 7 of the A.L.C.S.

earlier in the game, he would not get a third look.

“It was pretty simple: Third time through, we value that, we value our process,” Cash said. “Michael Brantley’s as talented a hitter as anybody in baseball, and if you give him too many looks, he’s going to get you. The leverage at that point might not have been any higher in the game.”

Anderson gave him a better matchup, Cash insisted, and the crix of the Rays’ approach is to tilt as many matchups as possible in their favor. The Rays try to limit the number of times opposing hitters face their pitchers, and batters hit .381 this season

when facing Morton for the third time in a game.

At that moment, Cash said, he could not abandon the script — even if the instinct of most viewers, including the one with the best angle of all, screamed otherwise.

“I want to say yes,” said Zunino, the catcher, when asked if he was surprised to see Morton leave. “But Cash pulls all the right moves. This was the best I’ve seen Charlie in the time I’ve been able to catch him in the past two years. He had everything working.”

On the TBS broadcast, the play-by-play announcer Brian Anderson said that “all of Twitter

is ablaze” as the screen showed a tweet from the Phillies’ Andrew McCutchen, a former teammate of Morton’s with Pittsburgh. McCutchen wrote he would have left Morton in, and the analyst Jeff Francoeur said he agreed.

Vindication came quickly for Cash when Brantley rolled the second pitch, a 97 mile-per-hour fastball, to second base for a groundout, keeping the shutout intact. When Brantley came up again in the eighth, Cash dutifully summoned a new pitcher, Pete Fairbanks, a hulking young right-hander who throws even harder than Anderson.

Fairbanks allowed two runs when Correa grounded a single

to right against an overshifted infield. But he locked down the pennant in the ninth when Aledmys Diaz, the potential tying run, flew out to Manuel Margot in right.

It was Morton’s second victory of the A.L.C.S., and while he fired 10⅓ shutout innings in the series, the Most Valuable Player Award went to Arozarena, a breakout October star. Arozarena hit .321 in the A.L.C.S. — the rest of the Rays batted .183 — and

No runs on only 66 pitches? Perfect time to go to the bullpen.

smashed four home runs. He now has seven this postseason, a rookie record.

“We’ve been facing some great pitchers and some great teams,” Arozarena said through an interpreter. “But the ball’s looking good. The ball’s looking real nice to me.”

His two-run homer in the first inning, off Lance McCullers Jr., erased any momentum the Astros had earned with their three wins while facing elimination. But Morton had a sense his team would be fine.

“After last night, it’s like — you give away a 3-0 lead, and I came to the park today and everybody’s just good to go, squared away, high energy in the first inning,” he said. “They’re out there just hungry for the win.”

It took longer than they had hoped, but the Rays got that win on Saturday, and they did it their way.

PRO BASKETBALL

Losing Courtside Camaraderie in the Covid Era

By HARVEY ARATON

On that fateful February night in 2017, after Charles Oakley was dragged out of Madison Square Garden and arrested on the accusation of causing a ruckus involving the Knicks' owner, I made my way down from the press box high atop the

court to consult with my source of four decades in the first row behind the Knicks' bench.

My source, Michelle Musler, knew Oakley well, often chatting with him before games going back to his time as the power forward pillar of the Knicks' 1990s title contenders. That night, she said, she had spotted his familiar head of gray hair, followed him as he made his way down to a nearby baseline seat behind the thin-skinned Knicks owner, James L. Dolan, and unequivocally declared Oakley innocent of harassing him.

"I know what I saw," she said. For the majority of her years as a season-ticket holder, Musler's seat came with peeka-boob privileges into the Knicks' huddle. After her death, in June 2018, Oakley told me he considered her to be "the Oak Man of Knicks fans."

The broadcaster Mike Breen, another regular pregame visitor to Musler's seat, said this about Musler, a businesswoman who commuted to the Garden from the Connecticut suburbs: "She loved it so much, and I always said it was people like Michelle who make the N.B.A. so great, who give an arena its character, more so than in any other sport. Because they're so close, they can literally reach out and touch you and create that special bond."

To that end, Jeff Van Gundy recalled how Musler would occasionally step forward to fix his sport coat collar when he, while coaching the Knicks, appeared for a game in his routinely rumpled state.

Seated directly across the court from Spike Lee, the indisputable face of Knicks fans, Musler, a divorced mother of five, rebuilt her social life around courtside relationships — players, coaches, trainers, public-relations executives and media folks alike. But now it's fair to wonder when and how the N.B.A. will replace the virtual faces so

Harvey Araton is a former Sports of The Times columnist and author of a new book, "Our Last Season: A Writer, a Fan, a Friendship," published by Penguin Press.



BARTON SILVERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Spike Lee, pictured at a Knicks-Heat game in 2014, said he was taking the pandemic day by day.

prominent in the courtside of the bubble with its usual affluent audience of living, breathing benefactors normally seated there?

What, exactly, will the future of N.B.A. courtside be in the age of Covid-19?

Lee, the rare luminary who, rather than get them from corporate benefactors, actually pays for his seats in the so-called celebrity row at the Garden, would not venture a guess.

"I'm not going to predict the future — taking it day by day," he said in a text message. "I have to see where we are in the world when the next N.B.A. season starts."

No details of the start of next season have been announced, though the Knicks recently required a deposit for season-ticket holders, subject to refund or an account credit should fan attendance not resume. (Courtside seats are at least \$1,000 at the Garden, and often much more.) But what if medical science can only provide partial protection through a vaccine? What if the virus is merely controlled, not eradicated? What if on-site rapid testing cannot assure a definitive result?

How many of the high-earning courtside patrons, many of them at advanced ages vulnerable to the virus, would eagerly return to a jam-packed environment, where every inch of space has been maximized for profit, all in close indoor proximity to sweaty young athletes?

Would mask requirements and social distancing dilute the

frenzy of the dense courtside experience and make it less attractive at the premium price level?

David Carter, a sports business educator at the University of Southern California and consultant with an N.B.A. client, said in a telephone interview: "One year ago, if you were invited to sit courtside, it would be, 'I can't wait.' In the new normal, it may be, 'Do you not like me?' I don't think sitting courtside at Staples Center or the Garden is going to look like it did — and if we do go back, it may not be for a very long time."

He added, "The second part, of course, is the consumer piece, the business side."

Wynn Plaut, a financial entrepreneur who underwrote and shared Musler's seats for several years after she could no longer afford them, said wealthy people and especially corporations may still have interest in what he called "the necessary diversion" of high-end sports.

But affordability is one issue, optics yet another.

"I would be embarrassed to pay that money for a basketball game given what's going on in the country," he said. "It would feel unseemly, tone deaf. This is the single-worst event since I've been alive — I was born in 1952 — and it's still unfolding."

Before reporters were moved upstairs at the Garden to make room for more courtside seats, one of the simple pleasures of covering the N.B.A. was the exposure to fans like Musler, hearing their tales of charmed

interaction.

Among others for me were Stan Asofsky, who as far back as the early 1970s shot baskets in Manhattan gyms with Cazzie Russell and others from the Knicks championship teams; the late Fred Klein, who, alongside Asofsky, heckled opponents and referees from their front-row baseline seats and fed many a player at his Carnegie Deli; Steve Diamond, a young tennis instructor whose family season tickets led to shaping the ground-strokes of Paul Westphal, Truck Robinson and Bill Cartwright, and an enduring friendship with the team's former coach Hubie Brown.

Lewis Dorf, a 1960s Knicks ball boy who once had Willis Reed to his family's Manhattan apartment for dinner, inherited his father's seats right behind Woody Allen. "It was always a scene, and I pretty much knew everybody," he said, though he was referring to a time before the ever-escalating courtside costs forced him to sell off most games.

Corporations ultimately gentrified the neighborhood. Tickets increasingly changed hands game by game on online exchanges. Pre-pandemic, there already were far fewer lifers like Michelle Musler. Now those virtual bubble fans — described recently by the writer Sam Anderson in The New York Times Magazine as "the world's least necessary Zoom meeting" — may be, for the foreseeable future, at least, as up close and personal as it gets.

SOCCER

A Cruel Twist of Fate, in the Form of a Knee

LIVERPOOL, England — Virgil van Dijk walked gingerly around the side of the field, ruefully shaking his head, muttering under his breath. He stopped to

offer Jürgen Klopp a thumbs up and then trudged on, out of Goodison Park. That will be the last Liverpool, and the Premier League, sees of the Dutchman for quite some time.

How long, precisely, is not yet known. On Sunday, a consultant confirmed what both the player and his coach feared in that brief pause in the Merseyside derby: Van Dijk has damaged the anterior cruciate ligament in his right knee. It is too early to assess, precisely, the extent of the damage, but not too early to know that van Dijk needs surgery.

Only after that happens will Liverpool be able to put a time frame on van Dijk's rehabilitation and recovery. The best case is that he can emulate Antonio Rüdiger, the German defender who sustained a similar injury in June 2016 and was playing again by October of that year. Ilkay Gundogan, by contrast, required twice as long to return. He is not the worst-case scenario.

Either way, Liverpool must now undertake a sizable portion of its Premier League title defense without the central pillar of its back line, a player who had played 74 consecutive league games and who had barely missed a minute of domestic competition in the two and a half years since arriving at Anfield.

Certain injuries have ramifications that stretch beyond the pain and despair felt by the player who has suffered them; they have the capacity to change the course of the season.

Tomas Rosicky, the former Arsenal midfielder, has argued that his team might have won the Premier League in 2008 had Eduardo, its Croatian-Brazilian striker, not sustained a career-threatening injury in a game at Birmingham. And a line might be drawn between Roy Keane's absence in 1998 and Manchester



LAURENCE GRIFFITHS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, VIA POOL

Liverpool's Virgil van Dijk, center, will have surgery on his A.C.L.

United's collapse in the Premier League title race. Inter Milan might not have had to wait so long between Serie A crowns at the end of the last century had Ronaldo, the Brazilian striker widely regarded as the finest player in the world at the time, not torn the tendons in his knee late in 1999.

The same is not always true, of course: Arsenal (again) lost Robert Pires to injury in 2002 as it chased a league and cup double, and went on to win both anyway. Five games into this season, then, Liverpool should not yet be written off. But in this case it is difficult to see how the context of the injury does not exacerbate the consequences.

It is possible to see, in what happened to van Dijk, a glimmer of almost every aspect of soccer in 2020. The incident that caused it felt distinctly acourant: the Everton goalkeeper, Jordan Pickford, has spent the last couple of years gaining a reputation for a tendency to act first and think later, one that has led to spiraling calls for him to lose his place on England's national team.

More apt still is the fact that the severity of van Dijk's knee injury did not seem to be the main source of controversy in its immediate aftermath. Instead, the focus was on why Pickford escaped any punishment for what appeared to be an obvious

red card offense.

The theory emerged that Michael Oliver, the on-field referee, and David Coote, his colleague in the video bureau, could not punish Pickford for an incident that happened when van Dijk was offside. After 130 years of organized, codified soccer in England, a loophole seemed to have appeared in which, once the ball was no longer in play, everyone had carte blanche to do what they liked.

That was later amended: Pickford would have been punished had he been guilty of serious foul play, but (rightly or wrongly) in the eyes of Oliver and Coote, that did not apply.

It is worth pausing, though, to consider that this is where the introduction of video assistant referees, and the subsequent rewriting of the game's regulations to keep up with the technology, has brought us: the idea that perhaps there is a glaring gray area in the rules that has gone unnoticed in the last century is no longer especially unthinkable. All of a sudden, nobody really knows where they stand any more.

The fact that Liverpool, after the game, wrote to the Premier League asking for an explanation as to why Pickford was not reprimanded — as well as requesting conclusive proof of the offside decision that had denied Klopp's team a late winning goal — has

the air of sour grapes. But there will be few clubs that have not felt aggrieved by some V.A.R. decision they do not fully understand over the last season or so.

It might be helpful, then, for more than just Klopp's burning sense of injustice, for the Premier League and its officials to consider why this keeps happening, and to wonder if, perhaps, the rules of the game are fundamentally undermined if those playing and watching it do not believe them to be just.

More immediately, though, is what van Dijk's absence means for Liverpool. Losing a player of his stature would be damaging in any season, in any situation, but to do so in this campaign is particularly troubling.

In the 75 days between now and Jan. 1, the soonest available date Liverpool can acquire a replacement or reinforcement, Klopp's team must play 17 games in the Premier League and the Champions League. That is about once every four days.

And it must do so with only two fit, senior, specialist central defenders: Joel Matip and Joe Gomez, both of whom have vaguely checkered injury histories themselves. The next alternative, Fabinho, is a central midfielder by trade, anointed an emergency center back by Klopp partly through choice — he prefers working with a small squad — and partly out of necessity: His spending power this summer was limited because of the economic impact of the coronavirus pandemic, and he determined that the money was better spent elsewhere.

In a season so compact and condensed, injuries are even more likely than usual to be the determining factor in who succeeds and who does not. The teams that triumph — across Europe — this season will not only have to excel, they will have to endure, too. Titles may well go to the last team standing. It may be that when it is all over, we come to see that moment, as van Dijk trudged round the field at Goodison Park, as the one in which Liverpool fell.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

M.L.B. PLAYOFFS

LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP SERIES

(Best-of-7)
American League
(All Games on TBS)
Tampa Bay 4, Houston 3
At San Diego
Oct. 11: Tampa Bay 2, Houston 1
Oct. 12: Tampa Bay 4, Houston 2
Oct. 13: Tampa Bay 5, Houston 2
Oct. 14: Tampa Bay 4, Tampa Bay 3
Oct. 15: Houston 4, Tampa Bay 3
Oct. 16: Houston 7, Tampa Bay 4
Oct. 17: Tampa Bay 4, Houston 2
National League
(Fox or FS1)
Atlanta 3, Los Angeles 3
At Arlington, Texas
Oct. 12: Atlanta 5, Los Angeles Dodgers 1
Oct. 13: Atlanta 8, Los Angeles Dodgers 7
Oct. 14: Los Angeles Dodgers 15, Atlanta 3
Oct. 15: Atlanta 10, Los Angeles Dodgers 2
Oct. 16: Los Angeles Dodgers 7, Atlanta 3
Oct. 17: Los Angeles Dodgers 3, Atlanta 1
Sunday, Oct. 18: Atlanta (Anderson 3-2) vs. Los Angeles Dodgers (Gonsolin 2-2)

WORLD SERIES

(Best-of-7; x-if necessary)

(All Games on Fox)
Tuesday, Oct. 20: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers or Atlanta vs. Tampa Bay, 8:09 p.m.
Wednesday, Oct. 21: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers or Atlanta vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.
Friday, Oct. 23: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay or Tampa Bay vs. Atlanta, 8:08 p.m.
Saturday, Oct. 24: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay or Tampa Bay vs. Atlanta, 8:08 p.m.
x-Sunday, Oct. 25: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay or Tampa Bay vs. Atlanta, 8:08 p.m.
x-Tuesday, Oct. 27: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers or Atlanta vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.
x-Wednesday, Oct. 28: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers or Atlanta vs. Tampa Bay, 8:09 p.m.

M.L.S. STANDINGS

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Toronto FC	11	2	5	38	29	17
Philadelphia	10	3	5	35	32	16
Columbus	10	4	4	34	30	15
Orlando City	8	2	8	32	30	18
New England	7	4	7	28	20	17
N.Y.C.F.C.	8	8	3	27	24	19
Red Bulls	7	8	4	25	22	23
Montreal	7	10	2	23	26	39
Nashville SC	5	5	2	15	21	17
Chicago	5	8	5	20	24	28
Atlanta	5	9	4	19	18	21
Inter Miami FC	5	11	3	18	19	29
Cincinnati	3	10	4	16	10	28
D.C. United	2	10	6	12	15	32

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Seattle	9	3	3	30	35	17
Portland	9	5	3	30	37	29
Kansas City	9	6	3	30	31	25
Los Angeles FC	7	7	3	24	39	37
FC Dallas	6	4	6	24	17	17
Minnesota	6	5	4	22	26	21
San Jose	6	7	5	23	28	43
Vancouver	7	11	0	21	22	39
Real Salt Lake	5	7	6	21	24	29
Colorado	5	4	4	19	25	20
Houston	4	7	7	19	25	30
LA Galaxy	4	9	3	15	21	34

Sunday, Oct. 17
Kansas City 2, Chicago 2
Montreal 2, Miami 1
Sunday, Oct. 18
Columbus 3, N.Y.C.F.C. 1
Red Bulls 1, Orlando City 1
D.C. United at Cincinnati
Atlanta at Toronto FC
Houston at Minnesota
Los Angeles FC at Portland
Vancouver at LA Galaxy
Seattle at San Jose
Real Salt Lake at Colorado ppd.
Monday, Oct. 19
Philadelphia at New England, 7:30 p.m.
Tuesday, Oct. 20
FC Dallas at Nashville, 8:30 p.m.

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE

Team	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Everton	5	4	1	0	14	7	13
Aston Villa	4	4	0	0	12	2	12
Liverpool	5	3	1	1	13	10	10
Leicester	5	3	0	2	12	8	9
Arsenal	5	3	0	2	8	6	9
Tottenham	5	2	2	1	15	8	8
Chelsea	5	2	2	1	13	9	8
West Ham	5	2	1	2	7	17	7
Leeds	4	2	1	1	9	8	7
Man City	4	2	1	1	7	7	7
Southampton	5	2	1	2	8	9	7
Newcastle	5	2	1	2	6	8	7
Crystal Palace	5	2	1	2	6	8	7
Man United	4	2	0	2	9	12	6
Wolverhampton	4	2	0	2	4	7	6
Brighton	5	1	3	1	9	11	4
Sheffield United	5	1	3	1	9	11	4
West Brom	4	0	1	3	5	13	1
Fulham	5	0	1	4	4	12	1
Burnley	3	0	0	3	3	8	0

Saturday, Oct. 17
Everton 2, Liverpool 2
Chelsea 3, Southampton 3
Man City 1, Arsenal 0
Newcastle 1, Man United 4
Sunday, Oct. 18
Sheffield United 1, Fulham 1
Crystal Palace 1, Brighton 1
Tottenham 3, West Ham 3
Leicester 0, Aston Villa 1
Monday, Oct. 19
West Brom vs. Burnley
Leeds vs. Wolverhampton

N.W.S.L. STANDINGS	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Portland	3	0	1	10	10	3
Houston	3	1	0	9	12	7
Washington	2	1	1	7	5	4
Bay Blue FC	2	2	0	6	6	7
North Carolina	1	1	2	5	8	10
Chicago	1	2	1	4	7	7
Reign FC	0	2	2	2	6	8
Orlando	0	2	2	2	6	8
Utah	0	2	2	2	3	8

Saturday, Oct. 17
North Carolina 3, Orlando 3, tie
Reign FC 2, Utah 0

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

A.P. TOP 25 POLL

The top 25 teams in the Associated Press college football poll, with first-place votes in parentheses, records through Oct. 17, total points based on 25 points for a first-place vote through one point for a 25th-place vote, and receiving ranking.

14.	North Carolina	3-1	677	5
16.	SMU	5-0	638	17
17.	Iowa St.	3-1	511	20
18.	Michigan	4-0	489	19
19.	Virginia Tech	3-1	420	23
20.	Kansas St.	3-1	399	22
21.	Minnesota	4-0	234	24
22.	Marshall	4-0	227	-
23.	NC State	4-1	199	-
24.	Southern Cal	4-0	192	25
25.	Coastal Carolina	4-0	185	-

Others receiving votes: Memphis 76
Oklahoma 74, Tulsa 58, West Virginia 57
Louisiana State 56, Louisiana-Lafayette 55
40, Liberty 37, Utah 36, UAB 30, Army 29
Arkansas 15, Air Force 14, Kentucky 12
Tennessee 11, Arizona St. 9, South Carolina
8, Washington 8, Indiana 4, Texas 1.

Others receiving votes: Memphis 76, Oklahoma 74, Tulsa 58, West Virginia 57, Auburn 48, Iowa 42, Louisiana-Lafayette 40, Liberty 37, Utah 36, UAB 30, Army 29, Arkansas 15, Air Force 14, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 11, Arizona St. 9, South Carolina 8, Washington 8, Indiana 4, Texas 1.

TENNIS

ST. PETERSBURG OPEN

At St. Petersburg, Russia
Men's Singles
Championship
Andrey Rublev (3), Russia, d. Borna Coric (7), Croatia, 7-6 (5), 6-4.
Men's Doubles
Championship
Jürgen Melzer, Austria, and Edouard Roger-Vasselin (2), France, d. Matwe Middelkoop, Netherlands, and Marcelo Demoliner, Brazil, 6-2, 7-6 (4).

TRANSACTIONS

M.I.B. MARLINS — Announced president of baseball operations Michael Hill's 19-season tenure with the franchise has ended.
PHILADELPHIA PHILLIES — Announced pitching coach Bryan Price has retired.

OTTAWA SENATORS — Signed G. Jody Daccord to a three-year contract.

FOOTBALL

N.F.L. STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

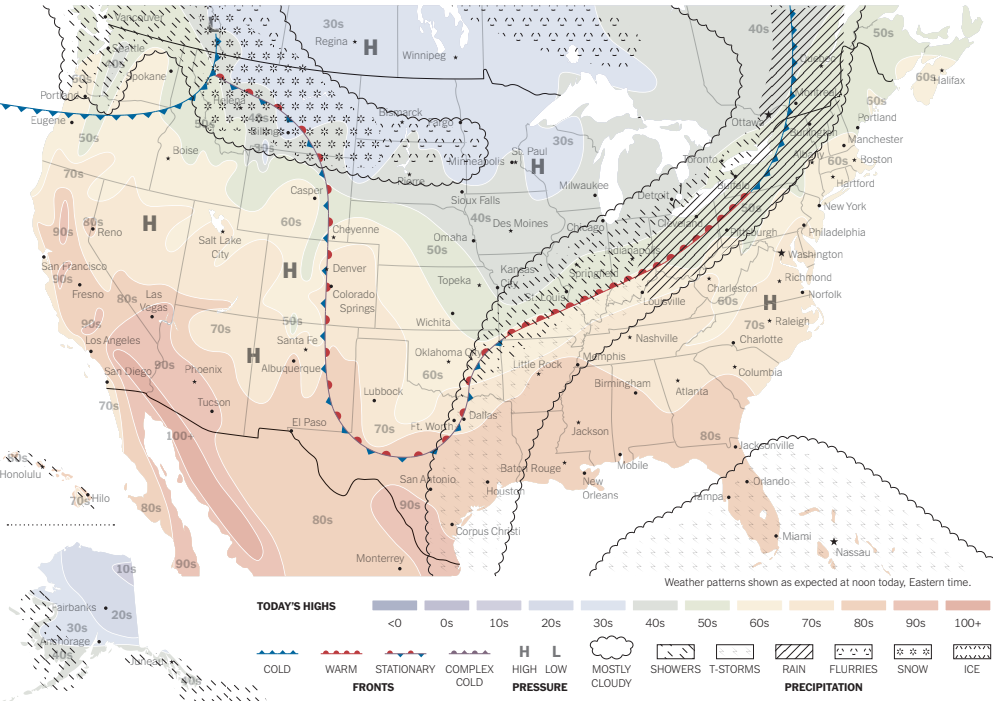
East	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Buffalo	4	1	0	.800	139	142
Miami	3	3	0	.500	160	113
N. England	2	3	0	.400	109	110
Jets	0	6	0	.000	75	185

South	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Tennessee	5	0	0	1.000	164	126
Indianapolis	4	2	0	.666	157	115
Houston	1	5	0	.166	146	182
Jacksonville	1	5	0	.166	125	181

NATIONAL CONFERENCE						
East	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Dallas	2	3	0	.400	163	180
Phila.	1	4	1	.250	141	175
Giants	1	5	0	.166	101	152
Washington	1	5	0	.166	108	162
South	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Tampa Bay	4	2	0	.666	177	122
New Orleans	3	2	0	.600	153	150

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: A Wintry Mix Expected in Upper Midwest

A dip in the jet stream pattern will bring a blast of cold air to the upper Midwest Tuesday. Coupled with a storm system over South Dakota, snow and a mix of wintry precipitation will fall across the region. Slippery travel conditions may be expected along with temperatures 10 to 15 degrees below normal for the middle of October. Rain will fall farther south into Missouri.



National Forecast

As the Northeast coast stays dry and turns milder, interior areas will be cool, cloudy and wet as a storm system moves into the region. Showers are expected to extend into the Ohio and middle Mississippi valleys, with thunderstorms possible from eastern Texas to western Kentucky. A stiff breeze from the Atlantic Ocean will bring a high rip current risk and coastal flooding at high tide to Florida's east coast, with widespread showers over the peninsula. Much of the rest of the Southeast will have a dry, pleasant day. The North Central states will be unseasonably cold, with snow showers and flurries persisting across the Plains and interior Northwest. Showers are forecast to dampen western Washington as the interior Southwest stays hot and dry.

Metropolitan Forecast

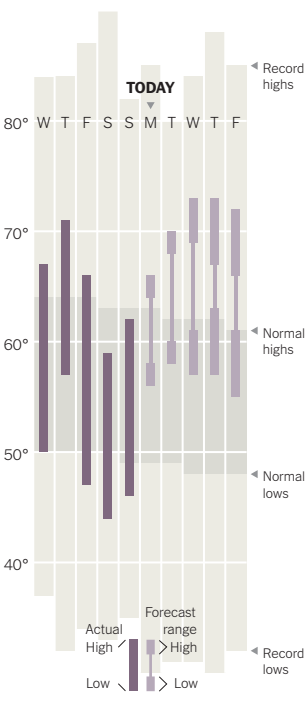
TODAYMostly cloudy
High 65. An overcast sky will build in by the afternoon as a slow-moving cold front enters the region. It will remain dry with near-normal temperatures and a light southeast wind.

TONIGHTMainly cloudy
Low 57. A frontal system will remain stalled, keeping the area dry, but cloudy overnight. Some fog development is forecast late at night with a light wind.

TOMORROWRather cloudy
High 69. Areas of fog will remain during the early hours, but will clear by late morning. Clouds and a few breaks of sunshine are expected for the afternoon. The area will remain largely dry.

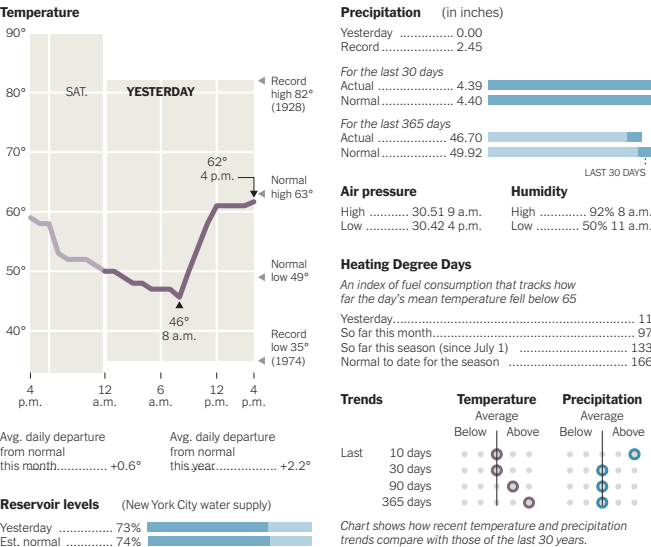
WEDNESDAYPartly sunny
High pressure will start to build back over the region, allowing for a sunny sky to return by the afternoon. Temperatures will be above normal.

THURSDAYClouds and sunshine
FRIDAYClouds and sunshine
Thursday will be another partly sunny day with warmer-than-normal conditions. High 70. Friday will turn out cloudier as another cold front approaches. High 69.



Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.



Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sn	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	-	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	62/ 46 0	65/ 57 C	69/ 59 C
Bridgeport	64/ 44 0	66/ 56 C	70/ 60 C
Caldwell	64/ 37 0	68/ 54 C	73/ 57 C
Danbury	59/ 33 0	65/ 51 C	69/ 55 C
Islip	62/ 40 0	65/ 54 C	70/ 59 C
Newark	63/ 39 0	68/ 55 C	72/ 59 C
Trenton	63/ 36 0	68/ 53 C	71/ 57 C
White Plains	61/ 38 0	64/ 54 C	68/ 58 C
United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	60/ 46 0	60/ 51 Sh	61/ 50 R
Albuquerque	79/ 49 0	80/ 49 S	79/ 49 S
Anchorage	38/ 31 0.12	39/ 29 PC	41/ 29 PC
Atlanta	70/ 56 0	75/ 57 S	77/ 63 PC
Atlantic City	64/ 55 0	67/ 60 C	70/ 64 PC
Austin	90/ 70 0	87/ 70 PC	88/ 68 PC
Baltimore	66/ 51 0	69/ 56 PC	76/ 58 PC
Baton Rouge	85/ 65 0	86/ 67 PC	85/ 68 T
Birmingham	77/ 60 0	81/ 59 S	82/ 61 PC
Boise	68/ 47 0	67/ 42 C	64/ 45 PC
Boston	59/ 46 0	60/ 50 PC	68/ 57 PC
Buffalo	61/ 47 0	52/ 45 R	54/ 48 C
Burlington	61/ 50 0	59/ 52 R	56/ 45 R
Casper	48/ 32 0	62/ 37 PC	53/ 30 PC
Charlotte	68/ 48 0	74/ 53 PC	79/ 59 PC
Chattanooga	73/ 55 0	76/ 57 S	81/ 60 PC
Chicago	56/ 34 0.34	48/ 40 Sh	53/ 47 C
Cincinnati	62/ 50 0.10	61/ 50 R	65/ 60 C
Cleveland	58/ 46 0.03	52/ 47 R	57/ 54 C
Colorado Springs	53/ 34 0	73/ 45 S	74/ 38 PC
Columbus	60/ 48 0	57/ 49 R	62/ 58 C
Concord, N.H.	59/ 37 0	62/ 46 C	67/ 48 C
Dallas-Ft. Worth	86/ 60 0	72/ 64 C	83/ 68 C
Denver	56/ 40 0	73/ 48 PC	70/ 39 PC
Des Moines	47/ 33 0.16	44/ 34 C	48/ 38 Sh
Detroit	57/ 38 0.10	47/ 38 Sh	54/ 48 C
El Paso	91/ 54 0	89/ 54 S	90/ 56 S
Fargo	39/ 21 Tr	39/ 27 C	36/ 25 Sn
Hartford	63/ 43 0	67/ 51 C	72/ 56 C
Honolulu	85/ 74 0.03	84/ 76 Sh	85/ 74 Sh
Houston	87/ 73 0	85/ 70 T	84/ 70 T
Indianapolis	61/ 43 0.04	50/ 42 Sh	61/ 58 C
Jackson	82/ 61 0	85/ 64 S	86/ 65 C
Jacksonville	77/ 69 0.05	81/ 69 S	82/ 71 T
Kansas City	49/ 38 0	48/ 39 PC	56/ 44 R
Key West	86/ 79 0.28	85/ 78 T	86/ 79 T
Las Vegas	92/ 63 0	91/ 63 S	90/ 62 S
Lexington	63/ 53 0.05	64/ 58 Sh	71/ 57 C

Little Rock	78/ 65 0.15	80/ 62 T	81/ 62 PC
Los Angeles	84/ 62 0	81/ 61 PC	82/ 61 PC
Louisville	65/ 54 0.07	66/ 58 R	72/ 63 Sh
Memphis	74/ 63 0.06	80/ 65 PC	82/ 64 PC
Miami	86/ 78 0.59	85/ 78 T	86/ 78 T
Milwaukee	46/ 32 0.22	46/ 36 C	50/ 45 C
Mpls.-St. Paul	43/ 27 0	41/ 30 C	38/ 32 Sn
New Orleans	69/ 60 0.07	78/ 63 PC	82/ 61 C
Norfolk	85/ 70 0	85/ 73 T	85/ 72 C
Oklahoma City	69/ 43 0	62/ 50 PC	79/ 60 C
Omaha	47/ 34 0.13	48/ 37 PC	52/ 37 C
Orlando	86/ 74 0	86/ 74 T	88/ 74 T
Philadelphia	65/ 51 0	70/ 56 PC	73/ 59 PC
Phoenix	97/ 67 0	97/ 67 S	98/ 68 S
Pittsburgh	62/ 48 0	67/ 56 S	71/ 59 PC
Portland, Me.	57/ 43 0	59/ 47 C	63/ 50 Sh
Portland, Ore.	64/ 53 0.02	62/ 49 C	60/ 47 C
Providence	61/ 44 0	65/ 49 C	70/ 57 PC
Raleigh	69/ 49 0	74/ 55 PC	78/ 59 Sh
Reno	82/ 44 0	80/ 42 S	77/ 43 PC
Richmond	67/ 50 0	71/ 56 S	76/ 58 R
Rochester	60/ 47 0	52/ 47 R	53/ 46 C
Sacramento	91/ 53 0	89/ 53 S	89/ 53 S
Salt Lake City	72/ 49 0	72/ 48 S	70/ 47 S
San Antonio	88/ 71 0	89/ 72 PC	87/ 70 T
San Diego	79/ 64 0	77/ 64 PC	76/ 63 PC
San Francisco	78/ 56 0	72/ 55 PC	77/ 57 PC
San Jose	85/ 56 0	80/ 55 S	84/ 56 S
San Juan	88/ 75 0.05	88/ 76 T	88/ 75 S
Seattle	62/ 53 0.08	59/ 49 Sh	57/ 46 C
Sioux Falls	44/ 27 0	42/ 32 Sh	44/ 33 R
Spokane	54/ 43 0.14	59/ 36 C	54/ 34 C
St. Louis	63/ 42 0.03	52/ 43 C	63/ 56 PC
St. Thomas	88/ 78 0.10	87/ 79 S	86/ 78 S
Syracuse	63/ 51 0	57/ 51 R	56/ 49 R
Tampa	89/ 76 0	89/ 76 T	89/ 76 T
Toledo	58/ 39 0.07	48/ 39 Sh	55/ 51 PC
Tucson	96/ 62 0	94/ 60 S	96/ 60 S
Tulsa	86/ 45 0	59/ 50 C	76/ 63 C
Virginia Beach	70/ 60 0	71/ 62 PC	75/ 64 PC
Washington	66/ 53 0	70/ 58 PC	77/ 61 PC
Wichita	51/ 40 0.02	58/ 42 S	65/ 50 C
Wilmington, Del.	64/ 49 0	68/ 54 C	73/ 58 PC
Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	75/ 48 0	81/ 56 S	88/ 61 PC
Cairo	88/ 66 0	91/ 71 S	90/ 69 S
Cape Town	70/ 54 0	66/ 53 PC	66/ 50 PC
Dakar	90/ 80 0	93/ 81 PC	92/ 81 PC
Johannesburg	88/ 64 0	89/ 65 S	90/ 61 S
Nairobi	76/ 59 0.04	79/ 61 PC	78/ 60 T
Tunis	75/ 55 0	73/ 58 S	78/ 61 S
Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	95/ 64 0	96/ 63 S	96/ 65 PC
Bangkok	79/ 73 0.24	82/ 73 C	85/ 74 T
Beijing	72/ 42 0	72/ 42 PC	67/ 50 PC
Damascus	91/ 49 0	90/ 52 PC	88/ 51 PC
Hong Kong	83/ 71 0	83/ 72 S	83/ 72 PC
Jakarta	90/ 76 0.06	92/ 71 T	92/ 71 T
Jerusalem	84/ 60 0	82/ 61 S	80/ 63 S
Karachi	97/ 81 0	96/ 77 PC	95/ 77 T
Manila	86/ 79 0.08	93/ 79 T	87/ 77 T
Mumbai	90/ 79 0.04	89/ 80 PC	90/ 80 T

New Delhi	96/ 69 0	91/ 66 PC	92/ 67 PC
Riyadh	90/ 61 0	92/ 64 PC	91/ 63 PC
Seoul	68/ 41 0	69/ 46 C	71/ 50 PC
Shanghai	79/ 69 0	71/ 60 C	75/ 68 PC
Singapore	86/ 79 0.27	88/ 79 T	89/ 79 R
Sydney	74/ 62 0.15	67/ 59 R	69/ 58 PC
Taipei City	76/ 72 0.22	78/ 73 T	78/ 75 R
Tehran	79/ 54 0	76/ 54 S	79/ 56 S
Tokyo	66/ 55 0.10	63/ 58 R	66/ 58 C
Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	56/ 42 0.25	56/ 46 C	58/ 54 R
Athens	77/ 62 0	74/ 60 PC	72/ 61 PC
Berlin	48/ 40 0.22	52/ 39 Sh	56/ 50 C
Brussels	55/ 43 0.01	57/ 47 C	60/ 55 R
Budapest	53/ 42 0	56/ 38 PC	57/ 41 PC
Copenhagen	52/ 41 0.23	52/ 47 Sh	53/ 50 C
Dublin	55/ 39 0	56/ 51 R	58/ 47 R
Edinburgh	50/ 42 0.12	56/ 48 R	59/ 49 R
Frankfurt	56/ 38 0	55/ 38 PC	61/ 52 C
Geneva	54/ 43 0	58/ 43 PC	63/ 49 C
Helsinki	44/ 33 0.27	40/ 30 R	39/ 32 C
Istanbul	70/ 61 0.21	66/ 59 PC	67/ 60 PC
Kiev	49/ 38 0.06	50/ 36 Sh	49/ 38 PC
Lisbon	75/ 55 0	69/ 61 R	67/ 60 R
London	55/ 44 0	58/ 53 C	64/ 56 Sh
Madrid	54/ 43 0	58/ 43 PC	63/ 49 C
Moscow	45/ 34 0.82	42/ 35 PC	39/ 31 R
Nice	66/ 53 0	65/ 53 PC	66/ 55 PC
Oslo	48/ 35 0	44/ 32 PC	42/ 40 R
Paris	59/ 42 0	58/ 50 PC	61/ 58 R
Prague	50/ 38 0	49/ 35 PC	55/ 41 C
Rome	66/ 49 0	67/ 47 S	68/ 48 PC
St. Petersburg	40/ 36 0.08	40/ 34 C	41/ 29 C
Stockholm	42/ 34 0	42/ 28 PC	42/ 40 R
Vienna	55/ 40 0	54/ 40 PC	57/ 42 W
Warsaw	48/ 38 0.14	49/ 36 Sh	51/ 45 C
North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	88/ 77 0.13	88/ 76 T	86/ 77 T
Bermuda	84/ 76 0.03	82/ 75 S	81/ 76 S
Edmonton	27/ 12 0	31/ 15 C	38/ 15 S
Guadalajara	82/ 56 0	84/ 55 T	84/ 55 T
Havana	84/ 70 0.02	85/ 73 T	86/ 73 T
Kingston	88/ 79 0.16	88/ 78 T	88/ 78 T
Martinique	91/ 75 0.12	88/ 74 PC	88/ 75 PC
Mexico City	75/ 51 0	76/ 51 T	76/ 51 S
Monterrey	89/ 61 0	89/ 68 S	88/ 68 S
Montreal	59/ 41 Tr	54/ 46 R	52/ 41 R
Nassau	83/ 73 0.41	86/ 78 T	87/ 78 T
Panama City	81/ 75 0.24	84/ 75 T	83/ 76 T
Quebec City	57/ 32 0	52/ 45 R	51/ 33 R
Santo Domingo	88/ 72 0.05	90/ 72 T	89/ 72 T
Toronto	56/ 47 0.02	49/ 40 R	52/ 45 C
Vancouver	53/ 48 0.53	56/ 46 C	54/ 43 PC
Winnipeg	36/ 22 0	37/ 17 PC	39/ 26 Sn
South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	82/ 68 0	80/ 54 R	60/ 56 Sh
Caracas	90/ 74 0.26	90/ 73 T	88/ 75 Sh
Lima	67/ 60 0	67/ 60 PC	67/ 60 PC
Quito	67/ 50 0.03	67/ 52 Sh	68/ 51 Sh
Recife	86/ 76 0.12	85/ 77 PC	85/ 77 PC
Rio de Janeiro	79/ 68 0	80/ 70 PC	82/ 73 PC
Santiago	79/ 45 0	75/ 49 PC	81/ 49 PC

Northeast Foliage



A mostly cloudy sky will build over the Northeast by the afternoon as a slow-moving cold front enters the region. Intervals of rain are expected from the Green Mountains in the north to the Alleghenies of West Virginia, where fall colors are at their peak. It will be warmer, but seasonable for most of the region.

The New York Times

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